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SHADWELL'S LONDON

DAVID APPELT

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SHADWELL'S LONDON

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTORY

Since the publication of Montague Summers's great edition of the complete works in 1927, it is no longer true to say that Shadwell is neglected; and it is safe to predict that that will be even less true in the future. The previous neglect, for which Dryden must take much of the blame, was on the whole undeserved. Shadwell's work is by no means dull throughout: the audience that applauded The Way of the World made the success of The Squire of Alsatia a theatrical proverb.

But the business of this thesis is not with Shadwell as a dramatist. It is a study of Shadwell's London -- the London in which he lived and which he put on the stage again and again.

I have used the writings of some of Shadwell's contemporaries, chiefly Pepys and Evelyn, to show the accuracy of his view and the truth of his presentation of life as he saw it. I have tried to show how his theatre and his audience modified and limited the picture that he draws.

A piece of corroborative evidence for the accuracy of that picture is the fact that Scott, with

2.

his keen eye for historical detail, used The Squire of Alsatia and The Volunteers as studies for scenes and manners in The Fortunes of Nigel and Peveril of the Peak respectively.

- - - - -

Outline of Shadwell's Life, with
Principal Dates.

- 1641. Born in Norfolk.
- 1655 Enters Cambridge (takes no degree)
- 1658 Admitted to the Middle Temple.
- 1663-66 Marries Anne Gawdy, nee Gibbs.
- 1668 Produces The Sullen Lovers
- 1669 Produces The Royal Shepherdess
- 1670 Produces The Humorists
- 1672 Produces The Miser
- 1672 Produces Epsom-Wells
- 1674 Produces The Tempest
- 1675 Produces Psyche
- 1675 Produces The Libertine
- 1676 Produces The Virtuoso
- 1677 Produces Timon of Athens
- 1678 Produces A True Widow

1679 Produces The Woman-Captain

1681 Produces The Lancashire Witches

1682 Dryden's The Medal published.

1682 Shadwell publishes The Medal of John Bayes

1688 Produces The Squire of Alsatia

1689 Appointed Poet Laureate, succeeding Dryden

1689 Produces Bury-Fair.

1690 Produces The Amorous Bigotte

1690 Produces The Scowrers

1692 Dies

1692 Production of The Volunteers

NOTE. The above dates are taken from the "Chronology" given by Summers, Volume I, pages cccli-ccliv, of his edition of Shadwell's Works. I have translated the equivocal dates into New Style. The order is chronological.

CHAPTER II

THE METROPOLIS

"That place of Sin and Sea-coal"
(Epsom-Wells)

Shadwell's London was a busy city of about
 (1) 500,000 people. It sprawled along approximately five miles of the Thames; its greatest width (measuring across the river) was some $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The wall and the seven great gates of the City proper were still standing; Ludgate and Newgate, the latter of which (2) Shadwell mentions, had been extended to form prisons.

The river was spanned by London Bridge only. Boats were the readiest means, not only of crossing the river, but of going any considerable distance to the east or west; they were the taxis and buses of the day. Pepys used to go as often by water as by coach. "When you go by Water to your House at Putney," James reproaches his master Goldingham, "you take a Sculler, and make him bate half his Fair, for (3) your helping him to Row". But there were other

(1) Including Southwark, Westminster, and the out-parishes of Middlesex and Surrey. See George, London Life in the XVIIith Century, p. 329

(2) V, 115

(3) Shadwell, II, 58 (The Miser)

Note. Quotations from Shadwell are made from the edition by Summers, in five volumes. References are to volume and page.

ways of getting about; Belfond Junior twice sends Lucia home in a chair;⁽⁴⁾ and Isabella speaks of "a tired Hackney, with six dusty Passengers in't".⁽⁵⁾

Although contemporary accounts complain of over-crowding, and pictures show streets solidly lined with houses and shops, the localities which now preserve the names of fields were fields. In other words, London contained a number of comparatively large open spaces scattered among its closely-built streets, for instance, Holborn Fields,⁽⁶⁾ Moorfields,⁽⁷⁾ and Lincoln's Inn Fields.⁽⁸⁾ St. James's Park and Hyde Park⁽⁹⁾ were large areas of treed and open ground. To the north, Hampstead and Hackney were country villages, entirely separate from London; and Southwark was surrounded by marshes and open fields. Moreover, the maps and plans of the time show gardens with most of the houses, even quite ordinary dwellings. Pepys had a garden; and in Shadwell, the houses of Lady Loveyouth (The Humorists), Goldingham, (The Miser), Sir Nicholas Gimcrack, (The Virtuoso), and Lady Cheatly, (A True Widow), possess gardens.

(4) ibid., IV, 230 and 252 (The Squire of Alsatia)

(5) ibid., III, 326 (A True Widow)

(6) ibid., 318

(7) ibid., V, 104 (The Scowrers)

(8) ibid., V, 96-97 (The Scowrers)

(8) ibid., II, 177 (Epsom-Wells)

When Shadwell began to write, (1668), London was being rebuilt after the fire of 1666. Sir Positive At-All has "seventeen Modells of the City of London of my own making, and the worst of 'em makes London an other-guess London then 'tis like to be."⁽¹⁰⁾ The "303 acres within, 63 acres & 3 roods without, 89 churches, 13,200 Houses, 11 parishes within the walls entire" which, according to the map of December, 1666,⁽¹¹⁾ were destroyed, gave some scope for "Modells", but ultimately no plan was followed in the rebuilding. Justice Clodpate, who hates London, "swears the Frenchman that was hang'd for burning on't was a Martyr; he was so glad at the burning of it, that ever since he has kept the second of September a Festival."⁽¹²⁾

It appears to have been the fire that finally put a stop to the plague. Shadwell's audience and the actors of his earlier plays were survivors, and must have vividly remembered the great plague of 1665, and it is natural to find him referring to it. Thus Lump says: "I would as soon catch the Plague, as that Disease of Wit."⁽¹³⁾

Small-pox, like the plague, was looked upon as

(10) ibid., I, 73 (The Sullen Lovers). Besant reproduces Wren's and Evelyn's schemes for its reconstruction in his Survey of London, V, 255

(11) Reproduced on the back end-papers of the Beeton and Chancellor reprint of Defoe's A Tour Thro' London. Besant states (p.244) that 436 acres within the walls were destroyed.

(12) Shadwell, II, 110 (Epsom-Wells)

(13) ibid., III, 317 (A True Widow)

a necessary evil, and talked about somewhat casually. "I am convinc'd," says Wildfire, "a man will certainly have it [love] e're he dyes, as the small Pox";⁽¹⁴⁾ and Major General Blunt would have "Love come out like the Small Fox, or else 'tis dangerous".⁽¹⁵⁾

Venereal disease was so common as to be constantly made the subject of jokes, and the basis of similes. Crazy, in The Humorists, a repulsive figure, is terribly stricken with it, and refers to it throughout the play. Young Maggot says of a poem he has composed: "'tis elaborate, I kept my Chamber about it as long as a Spark does, of a Clap, or a Lady of a Child; I purged, and bled, and enter'd⁽¹⁶⁾ into a Diet about it."

The absence of references to fog suggests that the air was purer than it is today, or at least that the "London particular", which is intensified by the smoke from thousands of hearths, was still a thing of the future.
(16a) (Evelyn records especially dense fogs in 1670 and 1699.) The use of Newcastle coal, brought down by sea, led Justice Clodpate to be "almost sick at Epsom, when the wind fits to

(14) ibid., V, 141 (The Scourers)

(15) ibid., p.217 (The Volunteers)

(16) ibid., III, 331. This reminds us of the desperate remedies in use, mainly bleeding.

(16a) He wrote a pamphlet on the subject of the smoke -- Fumifugium. (See Diary, Sept. 13 and Oct. 1, 1661)

to bring any of the Smoak this way",⁽¹⁷⁾ and to call London a "place of Sin and Sea-Coal"; but to Londoners of today the air would seem clear.

Shops, and sometimes houses, were distinguished by swinging signs. "Hang him upon the next sign", shouts a weaver, when Sir Formal Trifle tries to placate the mob;⁽¹⁸⁾ and Carolina's landlord (in The Sullen Lovers)⁽¹⁹⁾ has just had a new sign painted.

Certain localities and streets of London were devoted to certain trades and occupations. Something of this is reflected in one of the speeches in Wildish's panegyric on London to Lord Bellamy:

All these things have we at London. The product of the best Cornfields at Queen-Hithe; Hay, Straw, and Cattle, at Smithfield; with Horses too: Where is such a Garden in Europe, as the Stocks-Market? Where such a river as the Thames? Such Ponds and Decoys, as in Leaden-Hall-Market, for your Fish and Fowl? Such Game as at the Poulterers?⁽²⁰⁾

One of the oldest of such special streets was Lombard Street, where the bankers had established themselves

(17) ibid., II, 111 (Epsom-Wells)

(18) ibid., III, 167 (The Virtuoso)

(19) ibid., I, 71

(20) ibid., IV, 337. The Stocks Market was a market on the site of the old stocks, where the Mansion House now stands. Smithfield is famous also for the burning of martyrs (referred to in Shadwell, V, 127, The Volunteers.) In the same play, Major General Blunt has "come up to this Smithfield [London] like a Horse-Courser, to put off a Brace of Fillies, in this Market of Matrimony." (p.165)

Sir William Rant's father writes to his son that he has paid five hundred pounds to his "Banker in Lumbard-street".⁽²¹⁾

Grub Street, so famous in the next century, had even by Shadwell's time acquired a character of a kind.

"You a Wit!" scoffs Mrs. Fantast; "Eh Gud! the very Spirit of Grubstreet Reigns in you."⁽²²⁾

Snarl is "taken with a Lady . . . in German-Street"⁽²³⁾ Summers, in a note on this passage, states that Jermyn Street (which had been built only in 1667) was a fashionable quarter. That may be, but the fact that not only Snarl, but also Sir Nicholas Gimcrack and his wife, keep their guilty assignations there, does at least adumbrate its modern reputation.⁽²⁴⁾

"Fye-Corner" and Ram Alley are mentioned in The Woman-Captain⁽²⁵⁾ as the site of cooks' shops.

Law students were expected to attend the sittings of the courts in Westminister Hall. Sir Humphrey Maggot is therefore annoyed to find his nephew walking in the streets:

Whachum. I was not well this morning, and came to take a little air.

(21) Shadwell, V, 126-27 (The Scowrers)

(22) ibid., IV, 362 (Bury-Fair)

(23) ibid., III, 159 (The Virtuoso)

(24) See the last pages of Holy Deadlock, by A.F. Herbert.

(25) Shadwell, IV, 21

Sir Humphrey. Air, say you? Is there not as good air in Westminster-Hall? Yes, and a profitable air some find it. I went thither expecting to find you upon a Cricket, civilly taking Reports, I think they call 'em.

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

How! What Companions are these?

Whachum. Students of the Temple, Sir, hard Students, very hard Students.

Sir Humphrey. Students of the Temple? they look like Students of White-Fryers. (26)

This leads us to one of the most interesting localities of London, Alsatia, a portion of Whitefriars, on the site of the old Carmelite priory. It was regarded as a place of special sanctity, and even after the suppression of the monasteries, its inhabitants claimed certain privileges and exemptions. By the time of James I, Alsatia had established its claim to afford sanctuary to debtors, and the claim remained almost unchallenged until 1697, when it was finally forbidden. Shamwell and Cheately, the ruffianly companions of Belfond Senior, (in The Squire of Alsatia), are afraid to venture out of its bounds for fear of arrest. It is here that Sir Walter Scott owes his great debt to Shadwell; he drew heavily on this play for scenes in The Fortunes of Nigel.

(26) ibid., V, 102 (The Scowrers)

I list a few more of the districts in London and its environs mentioned by Shadwell. The barber-count of Bury-Fair has a shop in "Pickadilly".⁽²⁷⁾ Teresia professes to think "Hockley-in-the-Hole [an infamous district] ... sweeter than a Grove of Jessamin in the Country".⁽²⁸⁾ Snarl sometimes goes for a ride to "Hamstead or Highgate".⁽²⁹⁾

I have mentioned banking. Shadwell gives no hint of the remarkable development during his period, which culminated in the passing of the Bank of England Act in 1693, the year after his death. The systems to which he does refer are almost primitive. Goldingham, the Miser, buries his gold in his garden; he also puts money out at interest, and spends a great deal of time in calculation how much it will come to with "use upon use", that is, compound interest. Mrs. Cheatly describes him as having "the Villainy of fifty Jews, and which is more, of ten London Brokers, in him."⁽³⁰⁾ Most of the banking business of the time had come into the hands of the goldsmiths. Lady Cheatly, (the "true widow") however, is a private banker, and, incidentally, an embezzler. She spreads reports of her great wealth, with

(27) ibid., IV, 359

(28) ibid., V, 164 (The Volunteers)

(29) ibid., III, 116 (The Virtuoso)

(30) ibid., II, 64

this result:

Steward. Already the belief of your Wealth has spread so far, that I have had two of the City this morning with me (who having been shrewdly bitten by Goldsmiths) are very desirous to trust their Money in your hands, hearing what Mortgages you have, and believing you can employ it better than any body. (31)

Life insurance, it is interesting to note, was in use -- more as a gamble than anything else, it seems. Forced to raise money by some means or other, Theodore goes to Squeeze, a scrivener. Squeeze tries to get the money from Theodore's father, and explains, to encourage him to lend the money: "Besides, he'll go to the ensurance-Office, and ensure his own life and his Father's death, as you know they will ensure any thing." (32)

The men of business figure among the tormentors of Stanford:

Where e're I go I meet the same affliction: If I go
 Into the City, there I find a Company of Fellowes
 Selling of their Souls for Two-pence in the
 Shilling Profit.
Lovel. You are too Satyricall --
Stanford. Besides, I find the very fools I avoid
 at this
 End of Town, come thither, some to take
 Up Money at Ten in the Hundred, what with
 Interest and Brokage, as they call it; others to
 take
 Up Commodities upon Tick, which they sell at half
 Value for ready Money, and these Inhumane Rascals

(31) ibid., III, 301 (A True Widow)

(32) ibid., II, 47 (The Miser)

I' th very midst of all their business will
fix upon
Me, and I am more Barbarously us'd by e'm then
a (33)
New Poet by a Knot of Critticks.

There was a sudden flurry of stock-jobbing in the '80's and '90's. Shadwell satirizes it in his posthumous comedy, The Volunteers, or, The Stock-Jobbers. A group of Puritan merchants take up new inventions -- whether useful or not does not matter -- and float companies, sell their shares at a profit, and slide out before the stock begins to drop. One invention that is expected to "go all over England" is a mouse-trap -- "a Mouse-Trap, that will invite all Mice in, nay Rats too, whether they will or no; a whole share, before the Patent, is fifteen Pound; after the Patent, they will (34) not take sixty". The jobbers, so to speak, get in on the ground floor.

The trade of the period was principally with the Indies, which were looked upon as inexhaustible sources of wealth. "Did I not hear a certain young Lady say, she would not fall in love with a wild man of the Town, tho he could joynure her with the East Indies?" asks Eugenia. Justice Clodpate disparages England's

(33) ibid., I, 19 (The Sullen Lovers)

(34) ibid., V, 188

(34a) ibid., V, 121 (The Scowrers)

(35)

trade with the Straits and the Canaries," and Theo-
 (36)
dora has ventured money at sea.

Instead of single "ventures" being sent out, companies were sometimes formed and fleets of trading ships dispatched. The Hudson's Bay Company (1670) belongs to our period; the reorganization of the East India Company (founded 1600) took place just before the Restoration.

We must return to the physical conditions of London. The narrow streets must have been noisy, even by present-day standards. Coaches and waggons rattled over the cobbles; hawkers shrilled out their cries; droves of cattle on their way to Smithfield and slaughter added to the din. At any moment a foot-passenger might be engulfed in a crowd of rioting labourers, (like the ribbon-weavers in The Virtuoso) or turbulent fanatics (like the Fifth Monarchy Men). If it were Shrove Tuesday, a wise man would stay in the utterly respectable quarters of the town, for on that day it was the custom of the 'prentices to break into the houses of ill fame and maul their
 (37)
inmates. In such crowds, one would be as likely as

(35) ibid., II, 150 (Epsom-Wells)

(36) ibid., p. 29 (The Miser)

(37) This is what Stanford alludes to when he says: "Sir Positive here! I had rather go against an insurrection of 'Prentices, than encounter him." (Shadwell, I, 25)

not to have one's pocket picked, as Sir Samuel Hearty/^{did}
 (38) at the masquerade.

At night it was no better. With luck, the worst disturbances would be funerals (very often, perhaps usually, held at night) or the bellman, calling out the hours. Stanford grumbles about both:

Besides, when after all my persecutions, I think
 To ease my self at night by sleep, as last
 night,

About eleven or twelve of Clock; at a solemn
 Funeral the Bells set out: That Men should be
 Such Owls to keep five thousand
 People awake, with Ringing a Peale to him that
 does not heare it!

. This was no sooner past, but
 About two in the Morning comes the Bell-man,
 And in a dismal Tone repeats Worse Rhymes
 Then a Cast Poet of the Nursery can make. (39)

Sir William Rant's friend Tope enlarges on this. Rant suggests: "prithee Jack, what if we three whould resolve once, to go to bed sober in a Frol ick." "Faith Jack", says Wildfire, "let us ~~E~~'en try how it will agree with us." Tope: "What a Pox do you mean? are you mad? stark mad? I go to bed sober! what, to hear Chimes, Bell-men, and tell Clocks all night, and be Flea-bitten like a Nurse-Maid?" (40) Or, one might be kept awake by a

{38} ibid., III, 171 (The Virtuoso)
 {39} ibid.; I, 20 (The Sullen Lovers)

(40) ibid., V, 127 (The Scowrers)

serenade:

. . . after

Him, come those Rogues that wake People with their Barbarous tunes, and upon their Toting Instruments make a more Hellish Noise they they Do at a Play-house when they flourish for the Entrance of Witches. (41)

Perhaps Shadwell was faintly suggesting a reform when he invented Sir William Rant's improvement on this fashion: "It is a common blockheaded trick to serenade and disturb people at midnight; I am come to serenade you at Noon, and have ordered my dinner to come hither." (42)

Finally, there were the Scowrers, who made the night hideous, with their shouting and songs and breaking of windows, and dangerous, with ~~thair~~ attacks on unwary passengers. The Scowrers were the manifestation, in Shadwell's time, of what threatened to be a perennial crop of disturbers of the peace. "Why," says Tope, "I knew the Hectors, and before them the Muns and the Titire Tu's, they were brave fellows indeed; in those days a man could not go from the Rose Tavern to the Piazza once, but he must venture his life twice." (43) Three or four generations of similar bands of marauders had gone

(41) ibid., I, 20 (The Sullen Lovers)

(42) ibid., V, 114 (The Scowrers)

(43) ibid., p. 89

before; of these the Hectors were probably the most dangerous. In Swift's time they were known as Mohocks.

Tope explains again: ". . . the great end [of] (44)
Serenading and Scowering . . . is disturbing of Mankind." The Scowlers engaged in all sorts of pleasant tricks: breaking windows, wiping out the chalked milk-scores on the doors, and lamp-blacking the signs that hung out into the streets. Sir William Rant's reputation for "scowering" had spread through the town, and one morning he found a "pert dapper fellow" waiting to see him:

An please your Worship I am a Glazier, and have an humble petition to your Worship; your Glazier dyed within this hour, the bell now goes for him; and I humbly desire I may succeed in your Worships work. . . . He has had a fine time under you, for your Worship I understand has to Shash-windows an utter aversion, Sir, when you are in beer. . . . Now if your Worship will let me have the place, I shall see that all the Parish, when you please to break their windows, shall have as good goods as any man can furnish 'em with. (45)

Sir Christopher Swash, in The Woman-Captain, is another Scowler. His account of a night's work is worth quoting:

Gad we have had a rare Night on't, we have roar'd, and sung and ranted; kick't all Males, kiss'd all Females, swing'd Constables and Watches, trounced Bailiffs, broke Windows and

(44) ibid., p. 135

(45) ibid., p. 92

stormed Bawdy-houses, and committed other outrages to the confusion of much people -- (46)

The watch were powerless against a gang of these ruffians.

Considering everything, then, London in Shadwell's day must have been a sufficiently exciting place to live in - exciting in more ways than one. News from abroad, street sights and sounds and smells, crowds of apprentices, and bands of bullies -- all these and more contributed their mite to the life of the (as yet) sunlit town on the Thames.

(46) ibid., IV, 34.

CHAPTER III
GOVERNMENT AND WORSHIP

1. Law and Order

Under this heading I have collected a few scattered notes which indicate some of the attempts to maintain peace, order, and good government. Such attempts had seldom been more necessary. A space of thirty years (1660-1690) saw the Restoration, the plague and fire, the Dutch Wars, the Popish Plot, Monmouth's Rebellion, and the Revolution of 1688, as well as frequent insurrections such as those of the Fifth Monarchy Men.⁽¹⁾ And yet Shadwell says very little about it all. He was an ardent Whig, and it may be that his experience with The Lancashire Witches⁽²⁾ had taught him to avoid in the comedies high subjects of controversy. All his references/to national affairs are innocuous, as, for instance, this bit of dialogue between young Hackwell and Sir Timothy Kastril. The war referred to is the campaign in Flanders against the French (1692).

Hackwell Junior. What makes you such an enemy to this War? are you a Jacobite?

Sir Timothy. No Gad, not I, nor a Williamite neither; 'tis all one to me who Reigns, if I can keep my 2000 Found ⁽³⁾ Year, and enjoy my self with the Ladies.

(1) This last item is discussed in the second part of this chapter.

(2) Which had been severely cut by the censor on political and religious grounds.

in

As a Whig, too, he is able to throw/a few morsels of homage to his master, William III. This refers to his later comedies. Thus in Bury-Fair, Lord Bellamy has an argument with the French "Count", in the course of which he asserts of William: "How much greater is ours, who is a King of Men, and Free Men!"⁽⁴⁾

In the field of City government our first passage is taken from A True Widow. Young Maggot, pleading for his precious verses, begs his uncle: "Forgive me once, and I'll mend, and be as dull as an old fat Alderman, that sleeps over Justice at the Old Baily."⁽⁵⁾

The City militia, ortrained bands, come in for a bob or two. In the Prologue to The Woman-Captain (possibly as a result of the Popish Plot scare in the previous year) Shadwell could write:

Every Fop's a Politician grown,

• • • • • • • •

The Citt, who with his Wife and hopeful Son
Would come t'a merry Play, now all does shun,
And on the Guard learns to let off a Gun.⁽⁶⁾

(3) Shadwell, V, 184 (The Volunteers)

(4) ibid., IV, 327-328

(5) ibid., III, 331

(6) ibid., IV, 15

The problem of the Scowrers has already been mentioned, and their activities have been described. It is plain that the police force was hopelessly inadequate to cope with them.

similar

Aside from a few other references/to those quoted above, Shadwell's plays yield nothing more on this subject except a number of accounts of punishments for various crimes and misdemeanours.

"Lay hold on the Bawd, we'll have her Carted, Seize her till Sir Nicholas comes in; we'll have her sent to Bridewel, and soundly whipt there, and then carted."⁽⁷⁾ This is the fate in store for the disguised Sir Samuel Hearty. "Fy, fy, Whores! That's a naughty word. They are Ladies; there are no Whores but such as are poor and beat Hemp, and whipt by Rogues in Blew Coate."⁽⁸⁾ This speech completes the picture of the punishment of infamous women -- when they were punished. After being publicly carted through the streets, they were confined in the Bridewell house of correction, and set to beating hemp, with an occasional whipping to improve their morals.

(7) ibid., III, 147 (The Virtuoso)

(8) ibid., IV, 25 (The Woman-Captain)

Mutilation was still practised:

Steward. By Heaven, 'tis all true; I'll swear it; nay, I'll swear with you for a thousand pound.

Maggot,⁽⁹⁾ Let him swear it, that we may have his ears.

For writing libels and lampoons on the court, the guilty one was pilloried. (10)

These are indeed brief and scattered notes, but where next to nothing has been sown, little can be reaped. Much might be said about the army, of which we get a picture in The Woman-Captain, but its connexion with London is exceedingly slight.

(9) ibid., III, 357 (A True Widow)

(10) See Shadwell, IV, 306 (Bury-Fair)

2. Religion and superstition.

On July 19, 1655, Evelyn writes: "On Sunday afternoon, I frequently staid at home to catechise and instruct my family, those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so as people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity; all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons and ~~dis-~~ courses of speculative and national things"; and in the next year: "I went to London, to receive the Blessed Sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle; so sharp was the persecution. The parish-churches were filled with sectaries of all sorts, blasphemous and ignorant mechanics usurping the pulpits everywhere." Episcopacy had been abolished twelve years earlier, and in 1645 an ordinance had forbidden the use of the Prayer-Book. Strife and oppression had marked the religious life of the English under Oliver no less than under Charles I.

With the Restoration, the Church of England was resuscitated, and proved to be stronger than before the Rebellion; but it was not found possible to suppress all the conventicles, and in Shadwell's plays we find Puritans who openly attend their "meetings".

While there were doubtless thousands who sincerely welcomed the revival of the Established Church, there seems to have been a growing amount of indifference to religion, especially in the upper levels of society. None of Shadwell's fashionable Londoners really care about religion. Their attitude is flippant. The church performs two functions in their lives: to get them acquainted with the other sex, and to marry them. Some of the women do go to church to say their prayers, but one cannot help suspecting that half their purpose is to be seen by the men. The subject of "ogling" in church is discussed in the next chapter.

All the Puritans in the plays are either hypocrites or fanatics, although in fact there must have been large numbers of sincere and sober Quakers, Presbyterians, and Anabaptists.

An entirely gratuitous gibe at non-conforming parsons shows Shadwell, as so often, catering to the prejudices of his audience. It occurs in The Miser; the scene is "Chatolins'", the famous French tavern. Rant wants to drink Mrs. Joyce's health, and calls out: "here Boy give me a glass. (Boy gives a little glass). A pox on this Thimble, give me such a Glass as your Nonconforming

Parson\$ drinks in, after labouring at a Conventicle; as big as King John's Cup at Lyn, or John Calvin's at Geneva."⁽¹⁾ One is reminded distantly of Dickens's Mr. Stiggins. Lump, the brother of the "true widow", is a man of business, a Puritan, and a hypocrite. He tells his sister: "I wish you had set up in the City among our Party, and gone to Meetings, it might have been a great advantage; I my self have made much benefit of Religion, as to my temporal Concerns, and (so long as it be directed to a good end) it is a pious fraud, and very lawful." "No Brother", replies Lady Cheatly, "the godly have two qualities, which would spoil my design; great Covetousness (which would make 'em pry too narrowly into our Fortune) and much Eating (which would too soon devour what I have left)."⁽²⁾

Lump objects to the fiddlers:

Lump. Lady Sister, I am much offended to see you take this course of Vanity; would any wise Woman make use of Fidlers, Minstrels and Singers? I am very much ashamed of it ... What pleasure can there be to hear Fellows scrape upon Cats-guts? There's nothing in't.

Lady Cheatly. 'Tis the way to get credit at our end of the Town, as singing Psalms, and praying loud in a fore-Room, is at yours.⁽³⁾

(1) Shadwell, II, 42.

(2) ibid., III, 299. There is in Lump's speech perhaps an echo of The Alchemist -- the concern of Tribulation Wholesome and Ananias about the "lawfulness" of their dealings with Subtle.

(3) ibid., P.316.

and he would have an act of Parliament against wit.

Following his master Jonson, Shadwell also pokes fun at the elaborate names affected by the Puritans.

Colonel Hackwell calls for his servants: "Where are you: -- Win the Fight, -- stand fast to the Faith! perseverance -- Long suffering, -- fight a good fight. Habakkuk, Nehemiah, where are you all?" Well might his friend Nickum say; "What a Muster Roll of Christen-names is here."⁽⁴⁾

Hackwell is in the direct line of tradition when he ridicules the gorging of the "godly". Colonel Hackwell refuses to join a party at his friend Blunt's until the dancing is over; dancing, he believes, is immoral:

Hackwell Senior. Save you sir, I look upon Dancing as Vanity, and I crave leave to be absent: It is but the Ceremony, I will be present at the substantial part -- your Supper.

Major General Blunt. Well, well, -- you have liberty. -- The Godly will seldom baulk a lusty Meal; they will eat till it flies out at their Mouth, Eyes, Ears, and Nostrils.⁽⁵⁾

Hackwell is described as "a damn'd old Phanatick Collonel of Cromwell's",⁽⁶⁾ and we learn from the Dramatis Personae that he is an Anabaptist. Shadwell mentions a

(4) ibid., V, 204. (The Volunteers)

(5) ibid., p.219. This recalls the meal of roast pig in Bartholomew Fair, any number of scenes in Dickens, and the Second Resurrectionists' tea-party in J.B. Priestley's The Good Companions.

(6) ibid., p.163.

number of other sects, including Quakers, Brownists, and Fifth Monarchy Men.⁽⁷⁾ The teachings of the Quakers are well known. Their strictness is used as a simile by Goldingham's man Robin: "I tell you, you will sooner perswade Quakers to conform, and wear the Surplice ... than him to part with any money".⁽⁸⁾ Another more general comparison is made by Woodly: "I can no more restrain my self, than a Fanatick full of new lights and revelations can himself."⁽⁹⁾ The phrase pretty well sums up the common opinion of the religion of the Nonconformists.

Brownists were followers of Robert Brown; they had appeared in Elizabeth's time, and were also known as Separatists, since they insisted on the separation of Church and State.

The Fifth Monarchy men arose during the Rebellion of 1642 and the years following. They believed that eventually a "fifth universal monarchy (like those of

(7) ibid., p.132 (The Scowrers)

(8) ibid., II, 51 (The Miser) One of the great aversions of the Quakers was swearing; that seems to have been true also of the Anabaptists, for Evelyn records that in a court of the East India Company there "was much disorder by reason of the Anabaptists, who would have the adventurers obliged only by an engagement, without swearing, that they might still pursue their private trade; but it was carried against them." (November 26, 1657). Colonel Hackwell does not swear except in an emergency; in his amazement at Sir Nicholas Dainty's elaborate preparations for war, all he says is "Most intollerable, this worketh in me great Amazement", and "In truth this savoureth much of Bedlam; behold I am filled with wonder." (Shadwell, V, 193). (9) Shadwell, II, 147 (Epsom-wells)

Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome) would be established by Christ in person". They were extreme fanatics and anarchists, and caused a number of riots just after the Restoration, for they taught that it was sinful for any individual to set up as a king.

Scrapeall, "A hypocritical, repeating, praying, Psalm-singing, precise fellow, pretending to great piety, a godly Knave"⁽¹⁰⁾, is presumably a Quaker, for his daughter and niece, Teresia and Isabella, address their lovers as "thou". Scrapeall keeps them practically under lock and key, with Ruth, "a precise Governess", to play the dragon. He disapproves of novels, poetry, and romances, and the titles of the books which they are allowed to read are meant as another "bob" at "the pure ones": "...the Tryal of Man, in the Isle of Man, or Manshire: A treatise on Sabbath-breakers: And Health out-drinking, or Life out-healthing Wretches: A Gaustick, or Corrosive, for a Sear'd Conscience....A Soveraign Oyntment for a Wounded Soul: A Cordial for a Sick sinner. The Nothingness of good Works: Waxed Boot Grace, for the Sussex ways of Affliction; and a deal of such stuff: But all Novels, Romances, or Poetry,

(10) ibid., IV, 207 (The Squire of Alsatia)

(11)

except Quarles and Withers, are an Abomination."

What appears to be a reference to Puritan customs is made in A True Widow by Young Maggot: "Nay, if she have a better Face, and Reputation, than my Gartrude, I will forswear Poetry, and write Short-hand at Conventicles, all the rest of my Life." Besant has a note⁽¹²⁾ on the practice, but does not give the source of his information: "The women, it is said, took down the principal points [of sermons] in shorthand, being as much interested and as keen in controversy as the Men."⁽¹³⁾

Superstitions prevailed to some extent in all classes; one of the most common was the belief in the actual presence and miraculous intervention of the devil. When Sir Samuel Hearty's escape from the Virtuoso's house is discovered, Lady Gimcrack cries out, "O Heav'n! this must be the Devil: the House is haunted."⁽¹⁴⁾ Gripe's servant Richard, by putting on a disguise⁽¹⁵⁾ at him out of a dark corner, terrifies his master, who runs out, roaring "Mercy upon me! who's here, the Devil! the Devil!"⁽¹⁵⁾

(11) ibid., p. 249.

(12) ibid., III, 350

(13) Survey of London, V, 299.

(14) Shadwell, III, 161.

(15) ibid., IV, 43 (The Woman-Captain)

Another superstition is glanced at when Mrs. Cheately says of Goldingham: "This is the most obdurate, inhuman old Fellow, that are yet ventur'd a foul to the Devil for money"; ⁽¹⁶⁾ which I interpret as "that e'er yet ventured a soul to the devil for money".

The belief in witches lasted long after Shadwell's time. Apart from his play on the subject, The Lancashire Witches, with which we are not here concerned, I have found one reference to witchcraft: Theodosia, wooed by Carlos, says, "I see you are resolved to watch me, to make me confess Love, as they do Witches, to make 'em own their Contracts with the Devil." ⁽¹⁷⁾

Touching for the King's Evil, or scrofula, was re-introduced by Charles II, or perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that he was induced to resume it. Evelyn records the first occasion on which he exercised his supposed power (July 6, 1660). This superstition was surrounded with religious ceremony and ritual; Besant re-prints the order used. ⁽¹⁸⁾ This is mentioned here because Shadwell refers to it once. Sir Humphrey Maggot, in his

(16) ibid., II, 51 (The Miser). This curious passage is precisely as I quote it, without comment either in the explanatory or the textual notes. This suggests that it may be carelessly printed.

(17) ibid., III, 352 (A True Widow)

(18) Survey of London, V, 163-166.

boundless admiration for Louis XIV, says: "Oh this Louis is a glorious Prince, what would I give to see him; I believe I might have a pass to go over to be touch'd for the Evil, He must needs do it rarely".⁽¹⁹⁾ Sir Humphrey does not say why his own King William could not do it just as well.

Being bent on amusing his audience, it was only natural for Shadwell to pick out the absurd and ridiculous aspects of religion and superstition. It would be unreasonable in us to expect any serious treatment of a topic which, treated seriously, would either have been hooted or have made his audience uncomfortable.

(19) Shadwell, V, 95 (The Scowrers)

CHAPTER IV

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS IN SHADWELL'S LONDON

1. Dress and personal adornment.

It is not to be expected that Shadwell should have given a complete account of the fashions in dress and adornment of his time; but it is possible to glean from his plays a mass of information on the subject. Most of his references to costume concern the fashionable world and its fads and fripperies, especially the women's "melioration of nature". I have discovered no allusions to the dress of the middle and lower classes. That is only natural. Costume is subordinate to plot and character, and only what contributes to plot and character is mentioned. But with this limitation, Shadwell is remarkably faithful to the manners and fashions of his contemporaries.

"Indeed most young Fellows when they come to Town, dress at me", says Selfish; ⁽¹⁾ and perhaps a third of all his lines in the play are on the subject of dress or "shape". "Sure, I am not so lean; I was told I look'd

(1) Shadwell, III, 340 (A True Widow)

pretty plump to day: hah! my damn'd Rogue has put me into the most bustling Stuff; Bellamour, I like thy Breeches well....your Taylor shall make mine! Pox on my Valet de Chambre, how he has tyed my Cravat up to day; a man cannot get a good Valet de Chambre....."⁽²⁾

Even if clothes were not such a passion with everyone, all gentlemen at least attached the proper importance to dress. Pepys is a good example; he assiduously records all the details of his "fine Camlett cloak", his silk suits, and so forth. Brisk, in The Humorists, is another of the same sort: "You must know I do value my self upon my Cloaths, and the judicious wearing of 'em."⁽³⁾

The general scheme of a gentleman's dress in the later seventeenth century does not need description here, but Shadwell gives a number of details interesting enough to pause over.

When Mr. Wildish is going out, he calls for his gloves, handkerchief and sword,⁽⁴⁾ but not for his hat. Hats were worn indoore, as we learn from another passage in the same play. Mr. Trim has come to call on Wildish.

(2) ibid., p.329.

(3) ibid., I, 222.

(4) ibid., IV, 307 (Bury-Fair)

"Wildish makes signs to put his hat on, and takes his own up";⁽⁵⁾ and Crazy, in The Humorists, puts on his hat and periuke to receive a lady.⁽⁶⁾

about 1663,

It was during the reign of Charles II, that the periuke or periwig came into use. Pepys in that year thought the matter over, and changed his mind a number of times before he finally decided to wear one. The Duke of York (James II) first put on a periwig on February 15, 1663-4, and Pepys first saw the King in one on April 18 following.⁽⁷⁾ Wigs, according to Besant, "were at first an imitation of a man's own hair in colour",⁽⁸⁾ but Shadwell's Brisk glories in his "fair Peruke": "no flax in the World can be whiter; how delicately it appears by this Colour'd Hanging, and let me advise you ever while you live, if you have a fair Peruke, get by a Green or some dark colour'd Hanging or Curtain, if there be one in the Room. Oh it sets it off admirably."⁽⁹⁾ The French barber comes to the fair at Bury because "Dis is de place dat is Fameux for de pretty Garl wid de cheveux

(5) ibid., p.301 (stage direction)

(6) ibid., I, 199.

(7) See Pepys's Diary under those dates.

(8) Survey of London, V, 301.

(9) Shadwell, I, 221. (The Humorists)

blond, de farie haire: my Man and I come for buy de vite lock."⁽¹⁰⁾ He mentions Chedreux, the most famous peruke-maker of the day.⁽¹¹⁾ Shadwell even coins a simile on the subject: "as dumpish as a young Spark that is newly denied to be trusted for a white Periwig."⁽¹²⁾

It has been suggested that the Cavaliers adopted the periwig both as a protest, and to distinguish themselves from the crop-headed Puritans. And, to be sure, if a man repented of his Puritan opinions when the King came back, it was the easiest thing in the world for him to don a wig over his clipped hair. Shadwell points the contrast (which persisted after the Restoration) between Puritan and ordinary dress in a stage-direction: "Enter M[ajor] G[eneral] Blunt, Coll. Hackwell, senior, and after three or four Fellows in crapt Hair and Bands."⁽¹³⁾ Truman, however,

(10) ibid., IV, 310-11.

(11) Who also made Sir Fopling Flutter's wig in Etherege's The Man of Mode.

(12) Shadwell, II, 22 (The Miser)

(13) ibid. V, 187 (The Volunteers). Bands were plain white collars; the Cavalier's wore rich lace cravats. In the next scene, Major General Blunt describes the dress of the Puritans against whom he had fought in the Civil War: "...in high crown'd Hats, collier'd Bands, great loose Coats, long Tucks under 'em, and Calves-Leather Boots, they used to sing a Psalm, fall on, and beat us to the Devil." (ibid., p.189.)

"habited like one of the Pure ones" to gain access to a Puritan household, wears "a plain Band, Bob Peruke, and no Cuffs".⁽¹⁴⁾ So it seems that "the godly" did not abstain from wigs altogether, but went half way.

Women, too, seem to have worn wigs of frizzed hair, which were known as frowses. "What a Devil's this pound of hair upon your paltry frowses for?" barks old Snarl.⁽¹⁵⁾ In the same play Sir Samuel Hearty, disguised as a woman, offers for sale "all manner of Tires for the Head, Locks, Tours [towers], Frowzes, and so forth."⁽¹⁶⁾

The stall-keepers at Bury Fair cry their wares, and mention articles of women's dress:

Millener. What d'ye lack, Ladies? Fine Mazarine Hoods, Fontanges, [a head-dress of ribbons], Girdles, Sable Tippets, choice of fine Gloves and Ribbands.

Hosier. Stockins, Silk Stockins...⁽¹⁷⁾

Both men and women used large amounts of perfume; the usual explanation is that it was a kind of substitute for baths. At any rate, Pepys considers it worth mentioning at length when his wife goes to a "hot-house" to take

(14) Shadwell, IV, 226 (The Squire of Alsatia)

(15) ibid., III, 115 (The Virtuoso)

(16) ibid., p.146.

(17) ibid., IV, 318. Evelyn, on May 3, 1661, "went to see the wonderful engine for weaving silk stockings, said to have been the invention of an Oxford scholar forty years since."

a bath, and "pretends to a resolution of being hereafter
 very clean."⁽¹⁸⁾ Sir Humphrey Scattergood demands Pulvilio
 for his peruke, Tuberose, and orange-flower water for his
 handkerchief;⁽¹⁹⁾ and Sir Samuel Hearty (see above) has a
 stock of perfumed gloves to sell: "Amber, Orangery, Genoa,
 Romane, Frangipand, Neroly, Tuberose, Jessimine, and
 Marshal."⁽²⁰⁾

Mr. Snarl (who really is very helpful in detailing all his aversions) also objects to the use of patches: "Some Ladies with scabs and pimples on their faces invented patches, and those that have none must follow."⁽²¹⁾ Patches, Besant tells us, came in under the Commonwealth, and remained in use for well over a century. They were little bits of black taffeta stuck on the face, either, as Snarl suggests, to hide blemishes, or else, possibly, to attract attention to a particular feature.

He then goes on to another sore point:

...Just as our young Fellows imitate the French; their Summer Fashion of going open-breasted came to us at Michaelmas, and we wore it all Winter; and their Winter-fashion of buttoning close their strait-long-wasted Coats, that made them look like Monkies, came not to us till March, and our Coxcombes wore it all Summer.⁽²²⁾

(18) Diary, Feb. 21, 1664-5.

(19) Shadwell, IV, 20 (The Woman-Captain)

(20) ibid., III, 146.

(21) ibid., p.115.

(22) ibid.

He has incidentally given a description of a certain fashion affected by men, but the point I wish to bring out is the French influence. The return of Charles II, who had spent most of his exile in France, undoubtedly had a great deal to do with Englishmen's subsequent admiration for France and French ways. But Charles was not entirely to blame.

Bellamour. . . . but how go matters in France? What new Foppery is turn'd up Trump there?
Carlos. What with Governors, Ladies eldest Sons, Embassadors and Envoyes, you have 'em here almost as soon as the French themselves. (23)

Though his plays reflect (as they do many other conditions) how large French influence bulked in English life, often makes a point of praising England. So for instance in his Prologue to The Miser, he admits "stealing from the French":

But though he has no wit, he has some shame,
 And stealing from the French conceals his name.
 French Plays, in which true wit's as rarely found
 As Mines of Silver are in English ground;

• • • • •
 But stay, I've been too bold; methinks I see
 The English Monsieurs rise in mutiny,
 Crying confound him, does he damn French Plays,
 The only Pieces that deserve the Bayes:
 France that on Fashions does strict Laws impose
 The Universal Monarchy for Cloaths,
 That rules our most important part, our dress,
 Should rule our wit, which is a thing much less
 • • • • •

(23) ibid., p.291 (A True Widow)

And yet he hopes the advantages they gain,
 That he may please ye with small stock of brain:
 For our good natur'd Nation thinks it fit
 To count French Toys, good Wares; French nonsense, wit.⁽²⁴⁾

King Charles himself, indeed, had in 1666 made a definite attempt to put a stop to "the Monsieurs' vanities". Evelyn has an interesting entry (October 18, 1666):

To Court. It being the first time his Majesty put himself solemnly into the Eastern fashion of vest, changing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloak, into a comely dress, after the Persian mode, with girdles or straps, and shoe-strings and garters into buckles, of which some were set with precious stones, resolving never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto abtained to our great expense and reproach... I had sometime before presented an invective against that unconstancy, and our so much affecting the French fashion, to his Majesty, in which I took occasion to describe the comeliness and usefulness of the Persian clothing, in the very same manner his Majesty now clad himself. This pamphlet I entitled Tyrannus, or the Mode...

But Charles proved "unconstant", and the French fopperies went merrily on. Thus when Mrs. Fantast hears that a French Count has arrived at Bury, she is all agog, ignores her English suitors, and exclaims in a flurry: "Ha! A French Count? Oh Lord! I am afraid I am not in Order enough: he'll certainly make addresses to me; how is my dress?" And her maid, well trained, replies, "Very French, and very

(24) ibid., II, 17.

exact." (25)

A feature of women's costume to which there are innumerable references in the plays of the time was the vizard-mask, or vizor-mask. This was a piece of black velvet which, as its name implies, covered the features and was used as a disguise. In Elizabethan times, women of quality wore masks when they went out, especially to the public theatre, which was not considered a decent place for ladies. The fashion was soon taken up by prostitutes -- "vizard", in fact, became a common term for such a woman (26) and respectable women consequently gave it up, as a rule. But for special purposes and occasions they did sometimes wear masks as late as the end of the seventeenth century; and this fact makes possible a great many of the complications and mystifications so dear to many of the Restoration dramatists. Shadwell was not above using it; thus in Epsom-Wells, Bevil, half-heartedly carrying on an intrigue with Mrs. Woodly, accidentally meets her (masked) in a field when they are surprised by her husband. He takes her for Carolina, whom both men

(25) Shadwell, IV, 319 (Bury-Fair)

(26) Thus Bellamour, at the playhouse, says: "I cannot find my Mistress; but I'll divert my self with a Wizard in the mean time." (ibid., III, 336)

love, and she manages to deceive him by refusing to unmask. (28) Of more interest is the play scene (29) in A True Widow, where Isabella, who has put on a mask in order to remain unknown to her admirer, Bellamour, is put into a most embarrassing situation on that account.

1.Man. What not a word? all over in disguise: Silence for your Folly, and a Vizard for your ill Face.

3.Man. She must be a Woman of quality; she has right Point. (30)

4.Man. Faith! she earns all the Cloaths on her Back by lying on't; some Punk lately turn'd out of Keeping, her Livery not quite worn out.

Poor Isabella can only say to herself: "I deserve this by coming in a Masque."

The following bit of dialogue illustrates the French influence on personal adornment:

Theodosia.What have you learnt there? [in France]
Carlos. To love my own Countrey, and to think that none can show us so fine Women; in France they buy their Beauty, and sell their Love.

Theodosia. That Fashion is coming up apace here. (31)

Shadwell, at any rate, seems to think that painting was brought over from France, and has many bitter things to say about it:

(28) ibid., II, 141-43.

(29) ibid., III, 332 and 335-36.

(30) i.e. point lace; and we must imagine the man toying with Isabella's collar, or sleeves, or petticoat.

(31) Shadwell, III, 310.

"What with . . . the Women's waters and washes, we know not what to make of one another", complains Theodosia. (32) "Thou young Jezebel, with nothing natural about thee!" Oldwit scolds his step-daughter, "thou look'st as if thou wert painted by some leud Painter for the Sign of Folly..."; (33) and he berates his wife in these terms: "What a Pox, you and your Daughter are notorious, for out-painting all the Christian Jezebels in England." "'Tis false, rude Fellow", she retorts; "we only use a Wash, and lay on a little Red." He, intent on showing his wit, returns smartly: "No more does a Wall: but you, for your part, are fain to fill up the Chinks in your rivell'd Skin, as House-painters do the Cracks in the Wainscot, with Putty. Pox on't, you wou'd by Art appear a Beauty, and are by Nature a *maer Mummy.*" (34) And examples of such railing could be multiplied.

Sir Samuel Hearty, with his various stock in trade, gives a list of "beauty-aids", as the manufacturers nowadays call them: "all manner of Washes, Almond-water, and Mercury-water for the Complexion; the best Peter and Spanish Paper [two kinds of rouge] that came over; the best

(32) ibid., p.330.

(33) ibid., IV, 362 (Bury-Fair)

(34) ibid., p.317.

Pomatum of Europe, but one rare one, made of a Lamb's Caul and May Dew --- Also all manner of Confections of Mercury and Hogs-bones, to preserve present, and to restore lost Beauty."⁽³⁵⁾ The Prologue to The Squire of Alsatia alludes to "bought Red."

That rude fellow, Mr. Oldwit, taunts his wife with a list of another kind of artificial aids to beauty; a list cruel but revealing: "Why, thou piece of Clock-work, thou hast no Teeth, no Hair, no Eye-brows, no Complexion, but what cost thee Money: and, but for Iron Bodice, art as crooked as a Bugle Horn."⁽³⁶⁾

These passages give us some idea of the means by which women adorned themselves in Shadwell's London. Painting seems to have been uncommon enough to remark on, among respectable women; patches were accepted without comment, except by old-fashioned people like Snarl, and other improvements remained more or less well concealed from the general public. But Shadwell, the valuable informant, knows and tells them all.

(35) ibid., III, 146.

(36) ibid., IV, 362 (Bury-Fair)

2. Personal accomplishments and habits; morals.

Shadwell manages to tell us, casually, a good deal about the upbringing and behaviour of the people of his time, especially of the ladies and gentlemen -- his own class, on the whole. For although he had married an actress and was a professional writer, he was the son of a gentleman; he had studied at Cambridge; and he associated on equal terms with such brilliant men as Buckingham, Sedley, and Etherege.

His plays reflect contemporary methods of education, and the situation, in Bury-Fair, of the girl disguised as a page, offers him an opportunity to comment unfavourably on a practice which still survived at the time, namely, the sending of gentlemen's sons as pages into the households of noblemen. The page seems to be a survival of the squire under the feudal system. Shadwell objects to the practice, at least, as it was actually carried on:

[Lord] Bellamy. I use thee not as other Noblemen their Pages, who let Gentlemens Sons ride at the Tails of their Coaches, crowded with rascally Footmen: 'tis a French mode; they used formerly to give 'em the same Education with their Sons, which made their Fortunes; and 'twas a Preferment then, for a Gentleman's younger Son... (37)

(37) Shadwell, IV, 307

With exaggeration pardonable in satire, Shadwell wrote the following stinging dialogue. He believed that the purpose of comedy was to instruct and improve, and here takes the first step towards improvement, that is, exposing the faults he saw around him. The scene is the first of The Virtuoso; Bruce is discovered reading Lucretius, and Longvil enters:

Longvil.what an unfashionable Fellow art thou, that is this Age art given to understand Latin?

Bruce. 'Tis true, Longvil, I am a bold Fellow to pretend to it, when 'tis accounted Pedantry for a Gentleman to spell....

Longvil.the best of 'em, now, have a kind of Education like Pages;...

Bruce. Some are first instructed by Ignorant-young household-Pedants, who dare not whip the Dunces their Pupils, for fear of their Lady-Mothers: then, before they can Conster and Pearce, [construe and parse], they are sent into France, with sordid, illiterate Creatures, call'd Dry'd-Nurses, or Governors; ...⁽³⁸⁾

"The top of their Education [here speaks old Snarl again] is to smatter French: for in France they have been to learn French Vices to spend English Estates with; with an insipid gait^y, which is to be slight and bright, very pert and very dull."⁽³⁹⁾

But the most telling commentary (because the most casual and least noisy) on contemporary education is made by Lady Cheatly. Her friend Prig is to perform a

(38) ibid., III, 105-6.

(39) ibid., p.131.

mock marriage ceremony between her and her steward, who threatens to expose her cheats. So she asks Prig: "And you can read the Common-Prayer? that's material; for some Gentlemen can scarce read nowadays." (40)

So much for the men. Shadwell does not leave the subject of women's education quite untouched; we can draw some sort of picture from the information he gives us.

His Londoners frequently make fun of the country custom of bringing up a girl to be a good wife; (41) the fashionable London ideal seems to have been to produce a witty, brisk, gay woman who lived for pleasure.

Mrs. Fantast has been brought up at Bury, and her mother describes her as a good specimen:

Thou art in thy maturity of blooming Age; I have bred thee to the very Achme and Perfection of Bury Breeding, which is inferiour to none in this our Island; Dancing, Singing, Ghittar, French Master: And I'll say that for thee, my Jewel, thou has Sacrific'd all thy Endeavours to attain thy Education; which, corroborated by thy Acuteness of Parts, have render'd thee exactly accomplish'd, and together with the excellency of thy Beauty, justly admir'd by the Amorous Males, and envy'd by the malicious Females.

(40) ibid., p.325 (A True Widow)

(41) as do Clara and Eugenia, in The Scowlers, who have been immured in the country for five years. (Shadwell, V, 97-98.)

The last two clauses evidently express the end and aim of this sort of education. Shadwell is, of course, smiling at such an ideal. In fact, the non-Bury people in this play, (Bury-Fair), particularly Wildish, make "Bury Breeding" the subject of many sharp critical remarks. The rest of the conversation is so much to the point that I quote further:

Mrs. Fantast. To all that, which the World calls Wit and Breeding, I have always had a natural tendency, a penchen, deriv'd, as the Learned say, Ex traduce, from your Ladyship: Besides the great Prevalence of your Ladyship's most shining Example, has perpetually Stimulated me, to the Sacrificing all my Endeavours towards the attaining of those inestimable Jewels, than which, nothing in the Universe can be so much a mon gre as the French say....

Lady Fantast. ...thou has those Attractions, which I bewail the want of: Poetry, Latin, and the French Tongue.

Mrs. Fantast. I must confess, I have ever had a Tendress for the Muses, and have a due reverence for Helicon, and Parnassus, and the Graces: but Heroic Numbers upon Love and Honour, are most Ravissant, most Suprenant; and a Tragedy is so Touchant! I dye at a Tragedy; I'll swear I do. (42)

Mrs. Fantast's step-sister, Gertrude, has a somewhat different idea of "breeding":

Breeding! I know no breeding necessary, but Discretion to distinguish Company and Occasions, and Common Sence, to entertain Persons according to their Rank, besides making a Courtesie not awkwardly, and walking with one's Toes out.

(42) ibid., IV, 313.

She objects to larding one's conversation with scraps of French, but is answered with saws:

Lady Fantast. Nothing is so Confident as Ignorance.

Mrs. Fantast. Ars non habet Inimicum praeter Ignorantem.

Lady Fantast. Look you there: I have bred my Daughter a Linguist.

Gertrude, however, defends herself with spirit:

A Lady may look after the affairs of a Family, the demeanour of her Servants, take care of her Nursery, take all her Accounts every Week, obey her Husband, end discharge all the Offices of a good Wife with her Native Tongue; and this is all I desire to arrive at; and this is to be of some use in a Generation, while your Fantastick Lady with all those Trappings and Ornaments you speak of, is good for no more than a Dancing Mare, to be led about and shown. (43)

I suspect that the normal Englishwoman, say of John Evelyn's class, was very like Gertrude. Mrs. Fantast, on the other hand, and her "Bury Breeding", is a caricature of the London woman of fashion and her London breeding. The two are combined to some extent in Mrs. Pepys. She took lessons in singing, dancing, and drawing, and at various times had masters for the "viall" and flageolet. She learned arithmetic after her marriage, and kept the household accounts (not to her husband's satisfaction). Latin, as far as I can find out, was a very unusual

(43) ibid., pp.315-16

acquirement in women. Mrs. Fantast knew enough to quote a few tags; but a woman like John Evelyn's daughter Mary, who took pleasure in reading "Terence, Plautus, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid"⁽⁴⁴⁾ was clearly a prodigy.

Shadwell does not specifically mention that girls were taught to read and write, but it is implicit in most of his descriptions of upper-class women. In fact, his women often do read, chiefly billets-doux. Teresia, and Isabella, in The Squire of Alsatia, read a book of poems. They have, too, a "Gouvernante", whose business in the play is to try to shield them from the wicked world; but she had doubtless, when they were younger, taught them reading, writing, needlework, and perhaps "accounts". Another governess is the poor down-trodden Priscilla, in The Scowrers.

It is evident from these examples that there was no general standard of women's education, even within one class of society. Women were in this respect, as in most others, even more at the mercy of their parents' whims than men.

(44) See Evelyn's Diary, March 10, 1685.

A word or two should be said here about language. Swearing is not as common in the plays as one might expect; "faith", "'slife", and "Gad" are the most common expletives among the fashionable men. Whachum, in The Scowrers, admires Sir William Rant's way of cursing and swearing:

Oh if you did but hear him swear and curse you'd
be in love with him! He does 'em so like a
Gentleman, while a company of ye here about the
Town, pop out your Oaths like pellets out of
Elder Guns. They come so easily, so sweetly from
him, even like Musick from an Organ-pipe. (45)

Major General Blunt, a bluff old Cavalier, is a Cavalier in language as well as in general behaviour. He swears "by the Lord Harry", and "By'r Lady". (46) Mr. Snarl shows his affection for the "last age" by using its language. (47) His favourite expression is "by the mass", which Lolpoop, the north-country servant in The Squire of Alsatia, also uses. (48) Clodpate, the country Justice of Epsom-Wells, introduces almost every sentence with "udsbud".

The affected pronunciation "Gad" of the men is matched by Mrs. Fantast's foppish "eh Gud, eh Gud". (49) "Oh gemini!" was another of the "pretty oaths that are not

(45) Shadwell, V, 101.

(46) See The Volunteers.

(47) in The Virtuoso.

(48) This may be an indication of the greater survival of Roman Catholicism in the north.

(49) See Bury-Fair, e.g. p.315 (Shadwell, vol.IV) and cf. Lady Squeamish's "uh Gud" in Otway's Friendship in Fashion (quoted in Wyld, A History of modern colloquial English, p.369.)

dangerous";⁽⁵⁰⁾ and in The Miser,⁽⁵¹⁾ we meet a very early use of the phrase "what a dickens".

The spelling of the name "Gartrude" in A True Widow may indicate a pronunciation of the sort that has survived in words like "clerk" and "Derby"; but one must be cautious in drawing conclusions about pronunciation from seventeenth century spelling. A similar but less equivocal example is the rhyme verse:farce.⁽⁵²⁾

To make clear to the audience the cant terms in the play, Shadwell prefixed to The Squire of Alsatia an "Explanation of the Cant". I copy from his list of thirty-three items, a few that have stayed in the language, in polite use, schoolboy slang and the like:

To Equip. To furnish one.
 To lugg out. To draw a Sword.
 To Scamper, to rub, to scowre. To run away.
 Bowsy. Drunk.
 Sharp. Subtle.
 A Sharper. A Cheat.
 Frog. Meat.
Coale, Ready, Rhino, Darby. Ready money.⁽⁵³⁾

We nowadays should think the manners of Shadwell's Londoners elaborate yet coarse. The common method of

(50) See The Miser and A True Widow (Shadwell, II, 34 and III, 320)

(51) Shadwell, II, 81. In a note on this passage, Summers translates "dickens - devilkins".

(52) Epilogue to The Volunteers, Shadwell, V, 161.

(53) Shadwell, IV, 201.

greeting a friend or acknowledging an introduction was to embrace and kiss. "Ned, my dear Ned," exclaims Lord Bellamy to Mr. Wildish, "welcome to my Arms! This is a happy Surprize." Wildish replies in kind: "My dear Bellamy! My dear Peer! I cou'd not embrace a Mistress with more Ardour!"⁽⁵⁴⁾

Kissing was common in all classes, even between men and women. We find Wildish, after being introduced and paying a compliment, kissing Gertrude with the words: "Oh, that this Kiss wou'd last to Eternity!"⁽⁵⁵⁾ and even among the "citizens" at Epsom, when Bisket and Fribble foolishly prate of their wives' attractions, Bisket remarks, "Has not my Lamb a rare way of kissing?"⁽⁵⁶⁾

Introductions seem to have been short and simple.

Fribble. These are my Friends, Gentlemen, an
please you. [He presents them to his Wife and
they salute, (i.e. kiss) her.]

Bisket. This is my Duck, Gentlemen. [They
salute Mrs. Bisket.]⁽⁵⁷⁾

(54) Shadwell, IV, 308 (Bury-Fair). Embracing was not confined to such occasions. When his two Alsatian friends promise him some of the delights of town life, Belfond Senior, the country cousin, bursts out: "I am overjoy'd: I can stand no ground: My dear friend Cheately: My sweet Cousin Shamwell! Let me embrace such dear, such loving friends!" (Shadwell, IV, 233, in The Squire of Alsatia.)

The Duke of York embraced Evelyn on thanking him for his services during the Dutch War. (Evelyn's Diary, Jan. 29, 1665-6.)

(55) Shadwell, IV, 323 (Bury-Fair)

(56) ibid., II, 145 (Epsom-Wells)

(57) ibid.

Another pretty full set of introductions occurs in Bury-Fair. Mr. Oldwit is introducing his wife, step-daughter, and daughter, to the two heroes of the play:

OldwitMy Lord, this is my Wife.
Lady Fantast. And this is my Daughter.
 [Bellamy salutes her.]

Oldwit. Mr. Wildish!
 [Wildish salutes Lady Fantast and Mrs. Fantast.]

This, my Lord, is my Daughter.

Oldwit. Mr. Wildish, my Daughter.(58)

A common reply was "Your humble servant", often coupled with ornate compliments. As in all ages, many people were not sincere in their good manners and compliments. Here are two women discussing their male acquaintances:

Theodosia. ...Do but hear the Men talk of another, and 'tis antidote enough against 'em, they are as malicious as we Women, and would quarrel as often, if it were not for fear of fighting.

Isabella. Stanmore says, Carlos has an ill breath, and takes Physick of a French Surgeon; and that Bellamore keeps a Player, and will run out of his Estate.

Theodosia. And yet you see how dear they are one to another when they meet, 'tis the fashion.(59)

(58) ibid., IV, 323.

(59) ibid., III, 326. (A True Widow). Carlos and Stanmore fight it out; Stanmore, the coward, first tries to extricate himself:

Stanmore. Prithee Carlos, that's nothing, we all speak ill of one another, and it goes for nothing.

The remark about keeping a player leads to a subject that can be treated here as conveniently as anywhere else -- sexual morality. The age was one of licence, and yet, as many writers have pointed out, the plays give a somewhat distorted picture. They were written, after all, for a comparatively limited audience, the fashionable court circle of London. It is true that the citizens and apprentices frequented the play-house, but it was not their approval that the "poet" sought, nor their censure that he dreaded. (60) And, to judge from the history of the period, especially in such accounts as those of Pepys and Evelyn, the Restoration comedies do reflect the morals of the people whom they were intended to amuse. Or, to put it moderately, immorality was so prevalent that a cool acceptance and open discussion of it in a play passed without particular notice from the audience for whom the play was written.

With this in mind, we may examine some of the passages in Shadwell. First, some opinions of marriage:

Theodore. ...with this Isabella I am unreasonably and desperately in Love.

Rant. But it's in an honourable way, I hope, not at all inclining to wedlock.

Theodore. Yes faith, I am in love, even to

(60) Sir Positive-At-All (see Chapter V) dispute the right of two clerks to criticize his plays.

Matrimony.

Hazard. Pox on thee for an unseasonable Fellow, to think of Matrimony in this age, when an honest Woman is almost ashamed to shew her Face, she finds triumphant Punk so much preferred before her.⁽⁶¹⁾

Earlier in the same scene, the two gamesters, Hazard and Rant, describe Isabella as "a delicate bit for him that can get her, she's fit for one of us honest Fellows to debauch, and for a dull rich Fellow (born to drudgery of Plowing Land and getting Heirs) to Marry."⁽⁶²⁾

Another piece of dialogue, which must have amused the audience, follows. It is a vivid commentary on the age in general and on King Charles in particular that the play (Epsom-Wells) was extremely popular; so much so that Charles not only went to see it on the second and fourth of December, 1672, but had it performed at Whitehall on the 27th, during the Christmas revels.

Rains. Marriage is the worst of Prisons.

Bevil. But by your leave, Rains, though Marriage be a Prison, yet you may make the Rules as large as those of the Kings-Bench, that extend to the East Indies.

Rains. O hang it. Nor more of that Ecclesiastical Mouse-Trap.

Woodly. Prethee, speak more reverently of the happiest Condition of Life.

Rains. A married man is not to be believ'd. You are like the Fox in the Fable that had lost

(61) Shadwell, II, 23 (The Miser)

(62) ibid., p.22.

his Tail, and would have persuaded all others to lose theirs: you are one of the Parsons Decoy Ducks⁽⁶³⁾ to wheadle poor innocent Fowls into the Net.

His Majesty was one of those who did not allow the "Rules" of the "ecclesiastical mouse-trap" to confine him in his quest for pleasure.

"A Wife is but a foyle to a Mistriss ... this is the fashionable opinion";⁽⁶⁴⁾ "there is no such thing as scandal in this Age. Infamy is almost as hard to get as preferment";⁽⁶⁵⁾ "[keeping is] no dishonour, custom has made it otherwise";⁽⁶⁶⁾ such expressions are common throughout the plays. More amusing is the reductio ad absurdum which we find in The Woman-Captain. Sir Christopher Swash, "desirous to be thought a mad Fellow", becomes suspicious that his mistress is untrue to him; "but I care not", he says, "for the Devil take me, I drink too much to be a man at Arms. [i.e., to challenge his rival] Gad! I only keep her for the lewdness of the matter."⁽⁶⁷⁾

The men were not the only offenders. Shadwell's plays have a number of women of various classes who have been unfaithful to their husbands. Major General Blunt

(63) ibid., p.117.

(64) Shadwell, II, 75.

(65) ibid., p.159.

(66) ibid., III, 319.

(67) ibid., IV, 48.

comforts the disillusioned Hackwell with the observation: "Cuckoldom is no dishonour in our Country".⁽⁶⁸⁾ Theodore describes his lady-love as possessing "Damn'd unfashionable qualities, call'd virtue, and modesty."⁽⁶⁹⁾ And the list might be extended almost indefinitely.

I should like to think that Shadwell, in the next passage, was exaggerating the state of affairs:

Bawd. I have no less than three Maiden-heads upon my hands, I have agreed with their Mothers, who truly are careful honest Parents, and love to provide for their Children with a Motherly affection. I shall have 'em cheap, considering the rarity of Maiden-heads in this Town.⁽⁷⁰⁾

This play, bristling with lines of that kind, was produced "with great applause". Books like The England of Charles II, (by Arthur Bryant), tell us, in effect, that the heart of the country was sound. Perhaps so, but the heart of Shadwell's audience was not, if they could applaud sentiments of that sort. It may be argued, and I suppose truly, that Shadwell was writing satirically, but for the satire to have any point, some such conditions as these implied in the last quotation must have existed. His plays are full of lewd women (to say nothing of the men). In the Dramatis Personae of his thirteen comedies I have counted

(68) Shadwell, V, 223 (The Volunteers)

(69) ibid., II, 22 (The Miser)

(70) ibid., IV, 24 (The Woman-Captain)

the following among the named parts: Nine common prostitutes, ten kept women, and three procuresses. Many more are merely alluded to in the dialogue. (71)

The subject of the control of sexual vice has been treated in an earlier chapter, but it may be remarked here that all such efforts must have had more than a tinge of hypocrisy when the "brave Magistrates...commit Adultery themselves, and whip poor Wenches for simple Fornication," (72) and when the King and the great nobles and ministers of state openly kept mistresses and owned their bastard children without shame.

In reading the plays one would almost tend to forget, if it were not for the fifth act, that people did occasionally marry in the seventeenth century. The marriage-settlement was all-important; marriage was essentially a contract. The heroes of the plays do, it is true, express passionate love for the heroines, but on a review of the whole situation, one is left with the feeling

(71) Granting for the sake of argument that Shadwell was, as he claimed, attempting to correct the vices of the age, it is interesting to compare his methods with those of Addison and Steele, thirty-odd years later. See for example the serious examination of the means to a happy marriage in Spectator 261, (Addison), and Steele's affecting account of prostitution, Spectator 266.

(72) Shadwell, IV, 25. (The Woman-Captain)

that affection between husband and wife was largely a matter of luck. The great thing was to match two fortunes -- to join two good ones, or else to mend a poor one by joining it to a better. Shadwell does not represent a single happily married couple; his nearest approach is in Major General Blunt's remark, "Well, this is my Birth-day. And my Wedding Day, that joyn'd me to the best of Women, rest her Soul".
(73)

But making love was another story. Half the men in Shadwell's plays spend their time either in getting ready (dressing and titivating) for what they call "an amorous adventure", or in going out to seek it, or in telling their friends all about it. Others go to the ladies' homes to pay their court. Some of Shadwell's most amusing passages deal with the various methods and fashions in love-making. So Stanmore explains the new styles to Bellamour, who has been spending some time in the country. They have been talking of "one of the finest Women in England."

Stanmore. ...one Lord made Coaches at her, another squeezed in his fat sides at her, till he looked like a full sack; a third writ lamentable Sonnets to her; a fourth observed her

(73) Shadwell, V, 163-64 (The Volunteers)

motions in the Park, which, by the way, is the new method of making Love.

Bellamour. What, do they make Love without speaking to one another?

Stanmore. A great many very fine Gentlemen, to look at, better then with it; your side glass let down hastily, when the party goes by, is very passionate; if she side glass you again, for that's the new word, ply her next day with a billet doux and you have her sure.

Bellamour. What if we chance to go the same way, or she won't receive my billet doux, as you call it?

Stanmore. For the first it must never chance; you must instruct your Coachman, and for the second after such an advance as side-glassing of you, if she refuse your Billet she is a Jilt, and you must rail at her in all Companies.

I had forgotten half; you must turn as she turns; quit the Park when she goes out, pass by her twice or thrice between that and St. Jame's; talk to her at night in the drawing Room --

Bellamour. Before forty Coxcombs, and then the business is sufficiently proclaimed, is it not think you? (74)

Carlos, in the same play, aspires to Theodosia's hand; she is a high-spirited girl, and takes a delight in plaguing him. She instructs him how to behave if he is to win her favour; he is to be poetical, and make her "Songs and Sonnets plenty"; he must never go to a play unless she goes too; he must not go behind the scenes at the play-house; and he must not "talk with Vizors in the Fit". Further, he is to make all women in love with him. Many of the beaux considered this last point of the first importance;

(74) ibid., III, 289-90 (A True Widow)

in fact, Sir Nicholas Dainty, in The Volunteers, wants nothing else. He spends three hours a day answering his billets-doux.

Sir Nicholas. ...the Ladies do so persecute me, I must keep a Secretary. I keep Grisons Fellows out of Livery, privately for nothing, but to carry Answers.

Sir Timothy [Kastrill] (aside). What wou'd he say if he had my trouble, for I Gad I write abundance of mine, and answer 'em too my self; for a Man must not be out-done in Billets, by any Brother Beau. (aloud) Hah! I have found 'em, they are in my little Pocket.

Sir Nicholas reads a billet inviting him to go and see a lady who "languishes for his conversation".

Sir Timothy. And do you go, Sir Nicky?

Sir Nicholas. Dam me, not I: I sent an Excuse, I am not in Love with my Ladies, I only desire they may fall in Love with me, that's all: And 'tis hard for 'em to scape my Dress, and a certain languishing way I have of Obling, thus -- hah!

Sir Timothy. Very well, the Devil take, -- Gad I must learn that look. (75)

Another trick was to drop billets-doux in company, in order to attract attention to one's popularity. Sir Timothy tries that a little later in the play, but, much to his chagrin, no one takes any notice. Finally, in desperation, he "pulls out a great many and tells 'em", and so succeeds in catching Teresia's eye. (76)

(75) ibid., V, 177.

(76) ibid., p.191.

"Ogling" could be particularly entertaining in church, during a dull sermon. If men and women had been compelled to go to different churches, it is safe to say that none of Shadwell's young men of fashion would ever have been seen there. But as it was, "I make my Assignations in a Pew", says the second Prologue to The Volunteers (77) Wildish threatens Gertrude:

The Beaux are the most constant Church-men: you shall see Troops of 'em perk'd up in Galleries, setting their Cravats. There you shall be sure to find me: and I will stare you out of your Prayers. (78)

Pepys was an incurable ogler in church.

A somewhat similar pastime was "side-boxing" in the theatre, which Wildish, in the same scene, importuning Gertrude to accept him, mentions in a list of methods to break down her resistance:

Wildish. ...I am resolv'd to haunt you worse than any Beau, and pelt you with Billets doux some Fifteen times a day.

Gertrude. What, like one of those odious Creatures, will you Dress at me? and tye Cravats at me? and strut like a Turky-cock, and prune your self?

Wildish. Even so; and stare, and goggle at you; and never have my Eyes off you, while I Side-box you in the Play-house.

Gertrude. What, where the Beaux draw up three Ranks deep every day?

Wildish. Yes. (79)

(77) ibid., p.159.

(78) ibid., IV, 335 (Bury-Fair)

(79) ibid., p.334.

Perhaps the most ridiculous fad was "platonic love". Shadwell gives one example, also in Bury-Fair. Mrs. Fantast has an admirer, Trim, whom she calls Eugenius; he calls her Dorinda. He visits her daily, and is deeply hurt when Wildish gently rallies him; he protests that his intentions are strictly honourable and dispassionate. He meets his Dorinda at the Fair:

Trim. Not all the Clouds assembled in the Firmament, can hide, or can eclipse so muffle the Sun, but we poor Mortals know it shines, and can feel the warm effects. Why shou'd Dorinda think to blunt her pointed Glories, or conceal the Radiant Lustre of her conquering Beams?

Mrs. Fantast. I see, to the quick-sighted Eugenius, nothing is obscure. Nor cou'd Eugenius in the Dark be hid; that golden Tongue, and that sweet Eloquence would soon reveal him; as the Proscrib'd Senator was by his Perfumes betray'd. (80)

Love-making was a weighty matter in Shadwell's London.

Tempers were quick, and, as a gentleman always wore a sword, duels were frequent.

All Shadwell's ladies and gentlemen are well supplied with servants, some of whom always attend them when they go out. This makes it possible for Longvil, in The Virtuoso, to take Sir Samuel Hearty with him as his
disguised

(80) ibid., p.318.

footman. Poor Sir Samuel is too insolent as a servant, and gets beaten and kicked unmercifully by his "master". Servants were cheap and had no redress; only that could make poor Priscilla, the governess, submit to treatment like this:

Lady Maggot. ... Who's here, my Daughters Governess. Caytiff, what dost thou from thy Charge? where are my Daughters?

Priscilla. My charge, they have broken loose from me and defy'd me, and you too: They forc'd me to the Park, here they are taken up by a wild Fellow; who bid his Footmen seize on me and toss me in a Blanket.

Lady Maggot. Oh vile wretch! I'le strangle thee, I'le tear thy Windpipe out, where are they? speak, speak, speak.

Priscilla. Hold off your hands, you choke me, I can't speak.

Lady Maggot. Where are they, you old Judas?

and later:

Lady Maggot. You Cecropia, when they are in their Chamber, lock the Door upon them, and keep the Key, or I will strangle thee, thou old wither'd she Baboon.⁽⁸¹⁾

Among the servants left to him by his father, Sir Humphrey Scattergood has a fool, whom he promptly gets rid of, but who is allowed to make a pun or two before he vanishes into oblivion.⁽⁸²⁾ Family fools were rapidly disappearing. It would be interesting to discover how long the fool persisted on the stage. This is the latest one that I know of.

(81) ibid., V, 106, 111. (The Scowlers)

(82) See Shadwell, IV, 19-20 (Act I of The Woman-Captain)

This survey of the manners and morals of Shadwell's London brings out several points of interest. It shows, for one thing, (what was undoubtedly a fact), a comparatively large section of the upper classes who devoted their whole time to pleasure, particularly sensual enjoyments; and it gives a rather full account of the methods in vogue of pursuing and winning a woman's favour. It enumerates a few contrasts between the social intercourse of that time and ours. It gives some idea of how deep an impression the education of the day made on those exposed to it; and it states a few facts about the real people underneath this somewhat artificial surface of society -- the servants.

3. Food and drink.

Three things are particularly noticeable in Shadwell's references to food and drink: the quantity, the variety, and the preponderance of meat.

He does not mention breakfast directly; we may gather from Pepys that it was not a regular meal. His breakfasts, when he mentions them, vary widely. At Bowe, he has eggs; ⁽¹⁾ at various other times, a cup of beer, a pot of chocolate, and on one occasion, wine, anchovies, and pickled oysters. Frequently a morning draught taken either at home or in a tavern was a gentleman's only breakfast. Tope, the drinker, in The Scowlers, may be referring to breakfasts when he replies to Sir William Rant's invitation to drink a health: "I defy mornings Draughts, besides Spirits will bring you from two pounds of Beef, to two poatch'd Eggs, trust an experienc'd Drunkard, thou will not live out half thy days, if thou tak'st these lewd courses of drinking in a Morning." ⁽²⁾

(1) having left home at seven o'clock. (August 18, 1662). He is often up by four, and goes to the office soon after. The following entry is of some interest here: (September 3, 1662) "Up betimes, but now the days begin to shorten, and so whereas I used to rise by four o'clock, it is not broad daylight now till after five o'clock, so that it is after five before I do rise. To my office, and about 8 o'clock I went over to Redriffe..."

(2) Shadwell, V, 90.

Water was used very little as a drink⁽³⁾, which was perhaps a good thing, considering that many of the London houses still had their private wells. Wine and beer were the ordinary beverages. Gripe, in The Woman-Captain, is explaining his housekeeping to his new servant, Richard. Richard asks:

Must we never have any Wine or strong -- Beer--
Gripe. Why! you Impudent fellow, would you have us dye of Feavers? To drink Wine shall be Treason, and strong Beer Felony without Clergy: I have wholsom very, very small Beer, so clear, so fine, the Mault not to be tasted in't -- The Patriarchs drank nothing but Water.
Richard. That I deny, ask Lot else.⁽⁴⁾

Beer was regularly taken with meals. Sir Humphrey Noddy describes how, when he was telling a very funny story at the dinner-table, "There was such a Laughing, they Roar'd out again: The Ladies Tyhee'd under their Napkins", and finally the "Tyhee" took "a reverend old Gentlewoman as she was a Drinking, and she squirted out the Beer of her Nose, as an Indian does Tobacco."⁽⁵⁾

"Langoon" and "Burdeaux" are the wines suggested by Sir Humphrey Scattergood's steward, but his master will have none of them:

(3) Except, of course, the medicinal waters at such places as Bath, Epsom, and Tunbridge.

(4) Shadwell, IV, 27.

(5) ibid., p.332 (Bury-Fair)

Sir Humphrey. Porters and Carriers shall drink that; I'll have Vin d'aye, high Country Wine, Frontiniac; all the delicious Wines of Italy and Spain; the richer Wines of Greece and Sicily. Bellamy. And Celery, [Sillery] Champaign and Burgundy, with Vin de Bon, Vin Celestine, and Hermitage, and all the Wines upon the fruitful Rhine.⁽⁶⁾

Kick and Cuff, the night before the action of Epsom-Wells begins, have got drunk on claret. Rains and Bevil have been drinking Burgundy.⁽⁷⁾ Drunkeness was so common as to incur the grave censure of Evelyn. Men like Rains and Bevil did not care whether it was followed by ill effects or not: "no distemper can trouble me that comes from so generous a Cause, as lusty Burgundy, and good Company."⁽⁸⁾ But having themselves come off without serious consequences so far, they can make fun of Woodly:

Rains. O Franck Woodly, where wer't thou last night? you scap'd a bloody night on't.

Woodly. Faith Raines there is no scaping, a Coward may be kill'd as well as a brave man; I ran away from you but to little purpose. See how my hand shakes this Morning.

Rains. O let me kiss that hand; he must be an illustrious Man whose hand shakes at 22.⁽⁹⁾

Dinner was the important meal of the day for most people. Sir Nicholas Gimcrack invites Bruce and Longvil "to come to his house this fore-noon, to see the dissection

(6) ibid., p.23 (The Woman-Captain)

(7) ibid., II, 107-108.

(8) ibid., p.108.

(9) ibid., p.109.

of a little Animal, commonly called a Chichester Cock-Lobster; and afterwards to take a dish of meat, and discourse of the noble Operation, and to sport an Authour over a Glass of Wine."⁽¹⁰⁾ Dinner was served somewhere about noon, sometimes perhaps as late as two o'clock. Pepys often writes "at noon dined at home". He gives many accounts of dinners, both at his own home and elsewhere.⁽¹¹⁾

At Mr. Oldwit's dinner they serve rabbit, custard, woodcock, and goose.⁽¹²⁾ No doubt these are only a few of the items, for it was a large dinner. Gripe, the miser, orders "three Ribs of Mutton boil'd in a Pipkin for our Dinners; go, buy me a lean Breast --lean meat is wholesomest To Morrow is Holy-day -- I will have four Ribs, and some Cabbage." The ordinary diet of his servants is oatmeal and water. White bread is never seen in his house; nothing but rye and barley bread. He allows Richard to get some onion or garlic to go with the mutton, and he has in the house "some Ferkin Butter and Suffolk Cheese, fine

(10) ibid., III, 310 (The Virtuoso)

(11) Thus on March 26, 1662, he has "a pretty dinner ... viz., a brace of stewed carps, six roasted chickens, and a jowl of salmon, hot, for the first course; a tanzy [pudding] and two neats' tongues, and cheese the second." All this for himself, his wife, and four guests (with the remains doubtless going to the servants). But on Easter day following (March 30) he mentions only "a good shoulder of veal".

(12) Shadwell, IV, 331 (Bury-Fair)

lean Cheese". For the next "Holy-day", he intends to get a sheep's head; but, he says, "Ox livers and the Entrails of Beasts, are very nourishing."⁽¹³⁾

Dinner was becoming an unfashionable meal, if we are to judge by the plays; and the people with money and leisure, to whom food meant not sustenance, but merely enjoyment preferred suppers, served at varying hours. "I hate a Dinner", says Carlos, "'tis a good meal for a dull plodding Fellow of business that must bait like a Carriers Horse, and then to plodding again; but the Supper is the meal of pleasure and enjoyment." His friends agree:

Stanmore. Supping indeed is a solemn thing, and should be used but with few, every Blockhead can Dine.

Bellamour. That is, fill a Belly: but there are few men fit to Sup, there's more then eating requir'd for that mystery, there must be Wit and Sence.⁽¹⁴⁾

That is obviously a sop to the people of fashion. Wildish, in Bury-Fair, is such a man of fashion; he invites Trim to supper. Shadwell thus gives himself an opportunity for a dig at country manners:

Wildish. Come, you and I'll sup together, and be merry; and two or three Bottles will make you freer, and more open-hearted.

Trim. I never Sup: We of the better Rank never Sup, at Bury.

(13) ibid., p. 26-27. (The Woman-Captain)

(14) ibid., III, 293 (A True Widow)

Wildish. How? not Sup!

Trim. No.

Wildish. Nor drink a Bottle?

Trim. Never between Meals. We do indeed divert ourselves with some Milk-Fottage in the Evening; that's all. (15)

The "collation" was an extra meal, fitted in almost anywhere. It might correspond to our lunch, afternoon tea, or supper. Goldingham, of The Miser, has to entertain a party, and orders a collation for eight people. Here is what his cook-coachman James suggests: "Why you must have, first, two great Soupes made of Veal, Ducks, Chickens, Coxcombs, Sweet-Breads, Mushromes, Palates, Forced-meat, Artichoak-bottoms ... Then Fricasees, Ragousts, a huge Dish (with all sorts of Fowles) as Duck, Teal ... Then Plover, Dotril .. Snipes, Ruffs, Woodcocks .. Partridges Gnats, Godwits . . . Pheasants, heath-Pouts, Black-Cocks, Quails, Rails, Larks, &c." (16) Possibly James was merely trying to twit his master. This collation does not come to pass, but when the company arrives, the miser's son, Theodore, announces that he has ordered "a great Dish of China Oranges, Cittrons, all sorts of Sweet-meats, Limonades, Sherbets, and all sorts of Wines." (17) Sir Humphrey

(15) ibid., IV, 303

(16) ibid., II, 56-57. The whole scene is borrowed from Act III, Scene I of Molière's *L'Avare*: The list of foods is English, but Shadwell's "two great Soupes" is a verbal echo of Molière's "quatre grands potages."

(17) ibid., p.61.

Scattergood, knowing that Gripe will have nothing in the house, sends a collation when he intends visiting there. ⁽¹⁸⁾

Apart from these accounts of the meals themselves, we find in the plays various lists of articles of food. Part of Sir Humphrey Scattergood's long tale of extravagant delicacies is quoted in the appendix to Chapter V. One of his friends concludes it with "Then Virmicelti, Potato and Tartonphily, [truffles], and flatulent Roots to stir up and enable Appetite." His faithful steward replies plaintively: "I should have taken these hard Words for conjuring, but why must your Worship have French Cooks. Methinks my Masters old English Cookmaid, with good store of Parsley and Butter, did very well." ⁽¹⁹⁾ (Americans and Frenchmen still gibe at tasteless English cookery.) Sir Nicholas Dainty, who is going to Flanders as a volunteer, intends to live as well in camp as he does in London. So he asks:

Pray Coll. [Colonel] can you tell me where I may have one that understands the Blanc Manger well? I have a Cook that's excellent at Roasting, Stewing, Baking, Boyling, Biskes, Olio's, Ragousts and Fricasees.

Major General Blunt. Biskes, Olio's, Ragousts, and Fricasees, Blanc Manger, ha, ha, ha, Monstrum horrendum.

(18) ibid., IV, 38. (The Woman-Captain)

(19) ibid., p.22

Sir Nicholas. Let him alone Sir; I know you were brave, but the Customs of the World alter; Sir, I carry as good a Confectioner as any in England, Ovens, and all Utensils.

Blunt. Confectioner, ha, ha, ha: By the Lord Harry, thou art fit for nothing but Sugar Plums still; did Cato ever dream of Confectioners, and blanc Manger.

Sir Nicholas. I carry all Garden Seeds.

Hackwell Junior. For what Sir.

Sir Nicholas. I bought 'em when I thought of going to Sea, to have Sallets growing in Boxes. (20) And now 'tis their business to lye in Camps a (21) good while; I will have every day fresh Sallets.

We have seen that Pepys drank chocolate; the coffee-house was well established; (22) and tea had come in as a fashionable drink. Pepys has a famous entry under date of September 25, 1660: "And afterwards I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I never had drank before." Most of Shadwell's references to tea are slightly disparaging. It was first offered for public sale about 1658; (23) by 1689 (24) it was customary for ladies to withdraw from the dinner-table and drink tea. "Go, Womankind, pack

(20) A very sensible idea, if it would work, though Shadwell does make fun of it; Bryant (The England of Charles II, p.105) says that the daily allowance of seamen was two pounds of best salt beef; no wonder they got scurvy with that amount of meat, and a minimum of fruits and vegetables.

(21) Shadwell, V, 183 (The Volunteers)

(22) For a discussion of the coffee-house, see the next section, on Amusements.

(23) The well-known advertisement appeared in the "Mercurius Politicus" of September 30. Two pounds of it were a present fit for a king in 1664 -- the East India Company gave them to Charles II.

(24) The date of Bury-Fair, in which Shadwell's earliest reference occurs.

(25)

^{~ your}
away to your Cards, and ^A Tea", says Mr. Oldwit. Here cards and the tea-table are already associated, as they are so often in the eighteenth century -- in The Rape of the Lock, for instance. Gossip, too, quite naturally ^A itself to the tea-drinking:

Teresia. Oh Lord Sir, shan't we have a little chit chat, and the Tea-Table?

Winifred. Oh Lord, we are nothing without the Tea-Table, let me die else.

Major General Blunt. 'Tis ready for the Women and Men that live like Women; (26)

Tobacco had been in use since Elizabethan times; in our period smoking was quite general, except among the very fashionable. Even the Puritan Hackwell smokes, and so does his wife:

Major General Blunt. ... You Collonel, and your Friend here, to a sober Pipe by your selves, your Lady with the Women to their Tea and Cards, or what they will.

Hackwell Senior. No Collonel, My Lamb takes a digestive Pipe after dinner with me, every day.

and a little later, obviously to raise a guffaw from the audience, "Mrs. Hackwell peeps in with a pipe in her mouth." (27) Poor Trim, who had been good enough (as Eugenius for Mrs. Fantast until the French "count" arrived, then

(25) Shadwell, IV, 331 (Bury-Fair) The stage-direction is worth quoting for a little satirical touch: "Ex. Count and Ladies".

(26) ibid., V 189 (The Volunteers)

(27) ibid., pp.192 and 194.

became offensive: "Oh, Fye! you smell of Tobacco to a great
 degree", she exclaims. ⁽²⁸⁾ Her nose has suddenly become
 sensitive; but smoking in a lady's presence long remained
 a breach of good manners. Mr. Oldwit, her step-father,
 has a "smoaking-room".

Shadwell refers once to snuff. Sir Nicholas Dainty makes offering snuff a pretext for handing Teresia a "Billet"; the snuff was evidently in the paper. "Will your Ladyship please to take any Snuff," he asks; "'Tis Right pongy bongy". ⁽²⁹⁾

The medicinal value of tobacco and snuff, and indeed of tea and coffee, was greatly insisted upon in the seventeenth century.

In one way and another, Shadwell tells us a good deal about the meals and the kinds of food in vogue during his time. I have ^{not} given all the passages in which he refers to food, but have tried to avoid mere lists, rather choosing those which yield interesting information.

(28) ibid., IV, 342 (Bury-Fair)

(29) ibid., V, 193 (The Volunteers) "Pongy bongy", according to Summers's note on the passage, is either "a French snuff Pongez Bengue, greatly in vogue at that time," or else "possibly a corruption of the Italian snuff Bolongaros, which was much used in the seventeenth century."

4. Amusements.

If Shadwell had chosen to write about the working classes, there would be much less to say under this heading. As Besant points out,⁽¹⁾ the Puritan prohibition of Sunday games meant their prohibition altogether for the workers.

It is impossible with the material available, to classify and give the history of all the games and recreations that Shadwell mentions, and it would be outside the scope of this thesis; I shall merely try to give a general impression of the amusements of Shadwell's London.

The most spectacular of these was the theatre, which is discussed in Chapter V. Other entertainments of the same sort were those given by jugglers, rope-dancers, fire-eaters, and clowns. Sir Positive At-All, with his breath-taking versatility, numbers "leger-de-main", rope-dancing, and fire-eating among his accomplishments. Thus for instance, when Roger, the servant, mentions Jacob Hall, he asserts: "Honest Roger! How the Devil cou'dst thou find me out in that, Jacob Hall has told thee, has he not? I thought he would ha' kept that to himself; but I taught him, nay, I taught the Turke himself."⁽²⁾ The "Jack-puddings"

(1) Survey of London, V, 328.

(2) Shadwell, I, 73 (The Sullen Lovers). Pepys saw Hall at Bartholomew Fair on August 29, 1668, and again in the same year on September 21 at Southwark Fair.

or buffoons, at Bury Fair, announce "Pimper le Pimp, the High German Jugeler!"⁽³⁾ and "A very good Monster! a very pretty delicate Monster: the like ne'r seen in England! The Monster is just now beginning". Bartholomew Fair, in London, would provide spectacles of the same kind; Shadwell does not refer to it directly. Emilia, when asked by Lady Vaine to go and see a play, replies scornfully: "I tell you, I had as live [lieve] stand among the rabble, to see a Jack-pudding eat a Custard, as trouble my self to see a play."⁽⁴⁾

The fairs were patronized chiefly by the common people, and indeed formed one of their chief entertainments. When "society" attended, it was as a frolic. Mrs. Fantast and Gertrude put on masks to go to the fair at Bury.⁽⁵⁾

Cock-fighting appears to have been considered a gentlemen's pastime. Prig goes in for it a good deal. He asks Lady Cheatly to hasten their wedding, "because I am to go to New-market to a Cock-Match: I have lay'd fifty pound upon Jack-an-Apes, against Tom Prigg's Boxen Beak; my Dun fights a Battel with Tom Whiskin's Duck Wing for fifty pound."⁽⁶⁾

(3) Shadwell, IV, 327

(4) ibid., I, 36 (The Sullen Lovers)

(5) ibid., IV, 318.

(6) ibid., III, 347 (A True Widow)

Horse-racing, especially at Newmarket, Stamford, and Brackley, gained a great vogue in this period, partly, no doubt, through the patronage of Charles II, who himself kept race-horses.⁽⁷⁾ This is hinted at in Prig's proposal of marriage to Lady Cheatly, which ran in part: "As I have told you before, my Estate is not inconsiderable, besides the great Favour I have with the Gameing and Jockey Lords; and besides, if the King frequents New-Market, I doubt not but in short time to Rise."⁽⁸⁾ Prig evidently rode himself; since meeting Lady Cheatly, he has not had "the heart to ride so much as one heat at New-Market".⁽⁹⁾ Racing is in his blood. He knows all the animals' pedigrees; and he invites his friends to come and see "the best horse in England", to whom he is going to pay "a civil Visit. He's to run for the Plate at Brackley, Stamford, and Newmarket, and goes out of Town to Morrow."⁽¹⁰⁾

Bear-baiting was still popular, especially among the tradesmen and populace. When Carlos is wounded in the hand during a scuffle in the play-house, Theodosia mocks him with the words: "Here's a doe about a slight Hurt; a

(7) He even had a house built at Newmarket; Evelyn did not think much of it: "the arches of the cellars beneath are well turned by Mr. Samuel, the architect, the rest mean enough, and hardly fit for a hunting-house"; (July 22, 1670)

(8) Shadwell, III, 308.

(9) ibid.

(10) ibid., p.295.

Butcher at the Bear-Garden makes nothing of forty such." (11)
 Or possibly she is thinking of wounds received/in the crowd,
 but in a prize-fight; Pepys records a fight at the Bear-
 Garden between a shoemaker and a butcher. (12) Public prize-
 fights were just coming in in this period, and seem to have
 been encouraged by the court. On February 19, 1667,
 Evelyn saw "a wrestling match for £1000, in St. James's
 Park, before his Majesty, a vast assmeblage of lords and
 other spectators, betwixt the western and northern men."

Such contests of bodily skill and strength as
 wrestling were indulged in chiefly in country districts, but
 a long list of others which were played in London itself
 could be drawn up from the pages of Shadwell's plays. Two
 in particular are still played today -- tennis and bowls.

Fighting, says Sir Timothy Kastril, "is an
 admirable Exercise! I intend to use it a Mornings instead
 of Tennis"; (13) and Frig (14) gives some of the technical
 terms of that game:

Frig. ...How will that Gentleman and you play
 with Stanmore, and I keep his back hand at
 Gibbones? Bellamour. I do not know his Play.

(11) ibid., p. 339.

(12) September 9, 1667

(13) Shadwell, V, 207 (The Volunteers)

(14) ibid., III, 295 (A True Widow)

Prig. We'll take a Bisk of you.

Bellemour. No, you shan't.

Prig. You'r half fifteen better than I to a Grain.

Stanmore. No, that he is not.

Prig. I never heard the like in my life; gad, you'll never let me make a reasonable Match with you; you beat Sharper at a Bisk, and he beats me; what will Stanmore and you give Maggot and me at White-hall, and play the best of your play? hah.

Young Maggot. I never play, I stay at home and write.

Prig. Pish, 'tis all one for that, we'll play with you at a Bisk, and a fault, for twenty pound.

A Bisk is an advantage, or odds. Gibbons's was the Tennis Court in Vere Street, used as a theatre by Killigrew's company from 1660 to 1663. None of the gentry in Shadwell's plays appear to play bowls except Prig, who "has nothing but Tennis Courts and Bowling-Greens in his Head."⁽¹⁵⁾

Basket, the confit-maker, and Fribble, the haberdasher, play bowls at Epsom with the two bullies, Kick and Cuff. They are heard off-stage: "A noise within of rub, rub, narrow, short, gone a thousand yards, and such like words of Bowlers."⁽¹⁶⁾

Other games mentioned of the same general kind are trap-ball, stool-ball, shuttlecock, and cat (otherwise tip-cat).

Half the object of all these games and sports seems to have been betting. Prig bets on his horse-races,

(15) ibid., p.314

(16) ibid., II, 143 (stage direction)

cock-fights, and tennis matches, and Bisket and Fribble on their game of bowls. Raffles, according to Besant, were frequently part of an evening's entertainment. Sir Humphrey Noddy and Lord Bellamy try to get up a raffle among the ladies at Bury Fair, with the fee a guinea apiece. Lotteries were held at court, with the King and Queen taking part. Evelyn "gained a trifle" by subscribing to a lottery set up by Sir Arthur Slingsby. ⁽¹⁷⁾ Gambling was also a regular part of indoor games of cards and the like, to which we must now turn. Most of those played by Shadwell's characters have been completely forgotten, but the names of a few are recognizable. One -- cribbage -- survives. Langtrilloo (or loo), ombre, and piquet, are familiar by name to readers of Jane Austen, Pope, and Dickens respectively. Basset, comet, gleek, crimp, and primero, are unknown except to the student of the subject.

Trick-track, or tables, was a complicated form of backgammon.

Although people gambled at all these games, it was at dice that the really high play took place. Gaming was entirely unrestricted. One of the most fashionable houses was Speiring's. In the second act of The Sullen Lovers, Huffe comes bursting in with a tale of woe: "I am

(17) July 7 and 19, 1664.

the most unfortunate Man that ever was born ... I have been Nick't out of twenty pound Just now at Spierings, and lost seven to four, for my last Stake"⁽¹⁸⁾ Another popular place for gaming was at court, at the Groom Porter's. The office of Groom Porter was one which had gradually come to comprehend the regulation of gaming in the precincts of the court. It was abolished under George III. Evelyn disapproved when the King, on January 6, 1661-62, formally "opened the revels of that night by throwing the dice himself in the privy-chamber, where was a table set on purpose, and lost his £100 . . . The Ladies also played very deep . . . At other tables, both there and at the Groom-porter's, observing the wicked folly and monstrous excess of passion amongst some losers; sorry am I that such a wretched custom as play to that excess should be countenanced in a Court .." Pepys also gives a very full account of the play there (January 1, 1667-8). Shadwell has a number of references. "Come Theodore", says Hazard, "a lucky hand or two at the Groom Porters, will get thee as good a Mistress as any about the Town".⁽¹⁹⁾

(18) Shadwell, I, 33.

(19) Shadwell, II, 21 (The Miser)

Stanford, complaining of the "Impertinents", describes how

comes in a brisk
 Gay Coxcomb of the Town -- O Lord, Sir, (sayes he)
 I am glad I've taken you within, I came on purpose
 To tell you the newes, d'ye hear it? then might I
 Reasonably expect to hear of some great Intrigue
 or
 Other; At the least that the Kings of France and
 Spain
 Were agreed -- Then after he had bid me guess
 Four or five times, with a great deal of
 amazement
Sayes he: Jack-Scatterbrain comes in with ten
 Guinnys
 Last night into the Groom-porters, and
 Carry'd away 200; and then Teaz'd me
 Half an Hour, to tell me all his Throwes. (20)

Cheating at play was not unknown. Loaded dice were called
 "doctors". (21) "Well", (Theodore admits that he is in love)
 "because you are a couple of good honest Fellows, that is,
 as farr as those that use Cater-deuce-azes, and smooth
 Boxes, and Cheat at Dice, can be." (22) In the same play
(The Miser) Shadwell has a rowdy scene in a gaming house;
 in the intervals of drinking, arguing, and caressing Mrs.
 Joyce, Timothy Squeeze calls out his throws: "size-ace",
 "six and three", "sink-Duce". (23)

Among the gentler recreations were "discourse",
 dancing, and listening to songs and instrumental music.

(20) ibid., I, 18-19 (The Sullen Lovers)

(21) See the gaming scene in The Woman-Captain, Shadwell, IV, 55.

(22) Shadwell, II, 23.

(23) ibid., p.52-53.

Wit was at a premium in conversation; Shadwell makes fun of the heavy Bury "joques" -- mostly puns. Here is an example:

Wildish. Why, you can make a Joque, Sir Humphrey upon any thing.

Sir Humphrey. I seldom fail, thank God.

Wildish. Let's hear now, upon the Wainscot.

Sir Humphrey. Pshaw waw! 'Tis weak Wainscot.

Bellamy. How so? 'tis good Danish Oak.

Sir Humphrey. Ha, ha, ha; you know, the weakest goes to the Wall; vErgo, weak Wainscot. Ha, ha. (24)

Dances were a means of brightening an otherwise dull play; and, although most of his plays were extremely successful, Shadwell loses no opportunity of introducing a dance. The Humorists was, indeed, saved from failure by the dancing of Mrs. Johnson. Shadwell says that "it met with the clamorous opposition of a numerous party, bandied against it, and resolved, as much as they could, to damn it, right or wrong, before they had heard or seen a word on't .. . This of mine, after all these blows, had fall'n beyond Redemption, had it not been revived, after the second day, by her kindness (which I can never enough acknowledge) who, for four days together, beautified it with the most excellent Dancings that ever has been seen upon the Stage." (25)

(24) ibid., IV, 332

(25) Ibid., I, 183 (Preface to The Humorists)

The dances mentioned in the plays are the Minuet (a new importation from France), Bourree, and "contra-danse".

The reference to "an Italian Eunuch"⁽²⁶⁾ indicates what is well known, that soprano parts in Italian opera were sung by adult male sporanos, brought from Italy for the purpose.

Shadwell refers to four composers: Berkenshaw, Lock, Banister, all Englishmen, and John Baptist [Draghi], an Italian.

The type of music played is suggested in one or two passages. The two beaux in The Volunteers set up for critics:

(Enter Musick, they play and sing.
Sir Nicholas. Ah, that's fine, that's Chromatick,
I love Chromatick Musick mightily.

Sir Timothy. Ah that Fuge! That Fuge's finely taken.

Sir Nicholas. And bacely carried on.

Sir Timothy. Adl Italian Sir, all Italian.(27)

Sir Positive At-All is himself a composer. He comes bursting in upon Stanford with: "Ah Dear Jack! Have I found thee? I would not but have seen you for twenty pounds: I have made this morning a glorious Corrant, an immortal Corrant, a Corrant with a Soul in't; [Courante,

(26) ibid., IV, 32 (The Woman-Captain)

(27) ibid., V, 191

Coranto] I'le defie all Europe to make such another: you may talk of your Baptists, your Locks, and your Banisters; let me see 'em Mend this: Why here's at least 25 Notes
 (28) Compass, Fa, la, la, &c." Woodcock, in the same play,
 plays the violin, "which he us'd so barbarously, I was
 ready to take it for a Bag-pipe"; and it will be
 (29) remembered that Pepys played the lute or the orbo, and his wife the "viall" and "flageolet". Mrs. Fantast has learned the "Ghittar". Goldingham looks upon it as an advantage (because of economy) that his prospective wife hates
 " . . . Harpsical-Masters above measure".
 (30)

The words of the songs were sometimes classical and sometimes original. Young Belfond's music master, in The Squire of Alsatia, has set Horace's ode Integer Vitae, and his friend Truman sings it. More often, perhaps, the words were "diversions of the pen" (to use Mrs. Fantast's phrase) of some lady or gentleman. Frig, despising the conventional pastoral imagery, writes a hunting song:

Hey ho, hey ho,
 The merry Horn does blow,
 'Tis broad day,
 Come away.
 Twivee, twivee, twivee, hey,
 Do not stay.
 Then have at the Hare,
 Let old Puss beware.

(28) ibid., I, 25 (The Sullen Lovers)

(29) ibid., p.21

(30) ibid., II, 40 (The Miser)

Twivee, twivee, twivee, ho,
 The merry Horn does blow,
 Come away.

"I hate your Swains and your Nymphs", he says; and again,
 "I observe you Wits are always making Songs of the Love of
 Shepherds, and Shepherdesses, a company of block-headed
 clownish, ugly, tawny, Sun-burnt People; I had e'en as
 live hear Songs upon the Love of their Sheep as their own."^(30a)

The coffee-houses were much in use to while away
 an idle hour. The first one in London was opened in 1652
 by a Turk; and already in his first play (1668), Shadwell
 alludes to the political discussions in the coffee-houses:

The other day, being tyr'd almost to death with
 the
 Impertinence of Fopps that importun'd me;
 For Variety, I ventur'd into a Coffee-house;
 There I found a Company of formal Starch'd
 Fellows
 Talking Gravely, Wisely, and nothing to the
 purpose;
 And with undaunted Impudence discoursing of the
 Right of Empires; the Management of Peace and War;
 And the great Intrigues of Councils; when o'my
 Conscience you wou'd have sooner took 'em for
 Tooth-Drawers than Privy-Councillors.⁽³¹⁾

The "Wits' Coffee-house" mentioned in The
Volunteers⁽³²⁾ is the famous Will's, which by that time
 (1692) had acquired its particular group of clients.

(30a) ibid., III, 314 (A True Widow)

(31) ibid., I, 19 (The Sullen Lovers)

(32) ibid., V, 182.

The coffee-houses were one of the chief sources of news. "But pray Gentlemen", asks Sir Humphrey Maggot, "what News is of Master Catinat? I love News extreamly, I have read Three News Letters to day, I go from Coffee-House to Coffee-House all day on purpose." (33) They received the papers, of which Shadwell names (besides the general term "News-letters") only the Gazette, and which the clients might read as they sat sipping their coffee. So common was the practice that Shadwell in 1671 could make this simile: "Thou art as dull and dumpish as a fellow that had been drunk over night with Ale, and had done nothing but drunk Coffee, talked Politicks, and read Gazettes all this morning" (34)

Having had his fill of news, a gentleman might go to Long's (35) Chatelin's, (36) Lafond's, (37) or Locket's -- all famous ordinaries or eating-houses (restaurants, we should call them).

On the whole, Shadwell's London was pretty well supplied with amusements; his picture of them has the

(33) ibid., p.94 (The Scowrers)

(34) ibid., II, 21 (The Miser) Even Clodpate, the country Justice in Epsom-Wells, who abominates everything else that comes from London, "loves Gazettes extreamly". (Shadwell, II, 112.)

(35) Shadwell, III, 329 (A True Widow)

(36) ibid., II, 23 and 36 (The Miser)

(37) ibid., I, 37 (The Sullen Lovers)

(38) ibid., V, 91 and 102 (The Scowrers)

limitations we have noticed before, caused mainly by his appealing to a definite type of audience. It must be remembered that there was in his day a sneer implied in the term "low comedy"; and while he did at times bring in "low" people as a background -- as the stall-keepers in Bury-Fair, and the procuresses and prostitutes in almost every play -- his character parts conform to the conventions of contemporary comedy, and their habits and recreation correspond.

CHAPTER V

SHADWELL'S THEATRE

"There are two admirable Playes at both Houses"
(The Sullen Lover)

A

study

One chapter of this/^{is} is not too much to devote to Shadwell's theatre. More than any other dramatic writer of the time, he has, by allusion, suggestion, and direct statement, painted for us a remarkably full and valuable picture of the drama in the last third of the seventeenth century -- a picture that gives not only general features, but also innumerable physical details. He shows us the continued protests of the Puritans against stage-plays; that new phenomenon, the actress; the liking for opera and gorgeous spectacles; the popularity of the rhymed heroic play; and particularly, perhaps most important of all, he gives us a lively view of an audience, which has been a great deal of use to modern students of the drama.

The return of Charles II in 1660 meant much more than merely the restoration of monarchy; it meant the official restoration of practically everything that

the Puritan regime had tried to suppress. The stage stood very close to prelacy and monarchy among the aversions of the Parliament men; and, like prelacy and monarchy, the stage took on a new lease of life when the King came back.

Not that enmity to the theatre suddenly sprang into being under the Commonwealth. Ever since the establishment of the secular drama, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, men like Gosson and Stubbs and ⁽¹⁾ Prynne had poured forth condemnations of theatre and costumes, music and dancing, actors and audiences, playwrights and composers. Nor did attacks stop with the Restoration. As late as 1698 appeared Jeremy Collier's A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage; and Shadwell's Lump, in A True Widow, is a Puritan with an almost superstitious horror of the theatre:

I say, 'tis not lawful, 'tis sinful, 'tis abominable, to come under the Roof with these Hornets; there is Wit, flashy Wit, stirring here; and I would as soon be in ^a Pest-house. ⁽²⁾

(1) Significant works and dates:

Gosson: School of Abuse, 1579

Stubbs: Anatomy of Abuses, 1583

Prynne: Histriomastix, 1632

(2) Shadwell, III, 341

I said advisedly that the drama in 1660 took on a new lease of life, for it had never been quite defunct.⁽³⁾ In 1642 the Long Parliament passed an ordinance "that while these sad Causes and set times of Humiliation doe continue, publike Stage-playes shall cease, and bee forborne".⁽⁴⁾ But private performances were frequently given, and in spite of the renewal of the ordinance in 1647 and subsequently, and of raids at various times, surreptitious public performances, too, were risked pretty regularly. In 1656 Davenant began his "opera", a legalized sort of dramatic production, consisting of declamation, music, dancing, and "representation in scenes". On May 6th, 1659, Evelyn was taken to see "a new opera, after the Italian way, in recitative music and scenes", probably Davenant's.

The Restoration, however, was the signal for the legalization of public stage-plays as we understand the term. The King's patent to Davenant and Killigrew, 1660, gave them a monopoly, and reduced the large number of theatres in London to two. Davenant and Killigrew immediately began performances, having formed the Duke's and King's companies respectively, from the actors of the

^a the
(3) The whole story has been told by Hotson, in The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage.

(4) British Museum, E 115.15. Quoted in Hotson, op. cit., p.6

old theatres.

The plays were at first given in various places, such as tennis-courts and the Cockpit; the Duke's company played from 1661 to 1671 in the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields; in 1671 the second Duke's Theatre was opened in Dorset Garden. The King's men occupied the Theatre-Royal in Bridges-Street from 1663 to 1672, when it was burnt down. They moved to Lincoln's Inn Fields until their new house in Drury Lane was built, 1674; and from that time until past the end of our period, Drury Lane and Dorset Garden remained the two principal theatres in London. Shadwell's first three plays were produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields by the Duke's company; his fourth, The Miser, at the Theatre-Royal in Bridges-Street; the next nine at Dorset Garden; and the last five at Drury Lane.
 (5)

Shadwell makes only one reference to a particular theatre: in A True Widow, Selfish mentions having driven with a pretty girl from the Duke's Playhouse to Pell-Mell.
 (6)

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Restoration Theatre was the arrival of the actress.

(5) See Shadwell, I, cciiii-ccliv, and Summers's Theatrical History printed before each play.

(6) Shadwell, III, 293. No doubt he means Dorset Garden, A True Widow having been written 1678.

The first woman known to have acted on the English public stage (not counting court masques, which were private) was Mrs. Coleman, who appeared in Davenant's "opera", The Siege of Rhodes, in 1656. Pepys first saw a woman on the stage January 3, 1660-61. Years before Shadwell's first play appeared (1668), actresses had come to be taken for granted. In fact, he himself married an actress, Anne Gibbs, who acted in at least one of his plays after their marriage.

Although women probably acted female parts much better than boys had done, some people regretted the change. Uncle Snarl, in The Virtuoso, is one of them; he refuses to attend plays now:

I am not such a Coxcomb, I thank God: I have seen 'em at Black-Fryers; pox, they act like Poppets now in sadness, I, that have seen Joseph Taylor, and Lowen, and Swanste~~a~~d; Oh a brave roaring Fellow! would make the house shake again. Besides, I can never endure to see Plays since Women came on the Stage, Boys are better by half. (7)

We find another criticism of actresses in A True Widow:

Carlos. Some of 'em are so far from having Wit of their own, that they spoyl that little the Poets put into 'em by base utterance. (8)

(7) Shadwell, III, 116

(8) ibid., p.330.

Shadwell spoke from bitter experience, for the cast had helped to spoil his comedy The Humorists by being "extreamly imperfect in the Action of it."⁽⁹⁾

The character of most of the actresses is too well known to need much comment here. The names of Nell Gwyn and Mrs. Barry occur to one as illustrations of women who combined great histrionic talents with vice. According to Satyr upon the Players (1683),⁽¹⁰⁾ and Buckingham's A tryal of the Poets for the Bayes,⁽¹¹⁾ Mrs. Shadwell was not much better; unfortunately, these are satires, and no certain conclusions can be drawn from the opinions they express.

Although Shadwell, as one who had married an actress, and who depended upon actresses to play his parts,

(9) Preface to The Humorists, Shadwell, I, 183.

(10) Reprinted by Summers in his edition of Downes's Roscius Anglicanus, p.55 ff.

But antiquated Shadwell swears in Rage
She knows not what's the Lewdness of the Stage:
And I believe her, now her Days are past;
Who'd tempt a Wretch, that on meer Force is Chast?
Yet in her youth, none was a greater Whore:
Her lumpish Husband Og can tell you more.

(11) Quoted by Summers in his introduction to the plays: Shadwell, I, xxxi.

Next into the Crowd, Tom Shadwell does wallow,
And swears by his Guts, his Paunch, and his Tallow,
That 'tis he alone best pleases the Age,
Himself and his Wife, have supported the Stage.

could not be expected to say much about their characters, he has one sarcastic reference. Miranda, in The Virtuoso, is trying to get rid of her lover, Longvil:

Longvil. Dear Madam! tender the life and welfare of a poor humble Lover.

Miranda. What, a fashionable Gentleman of this Age, and a Lover! it is impossible! They are all Keepers, and transplant tawdry things from the Exchange or the Play-house, and make the poor Creatures⁽¹²⁾ run mad with the extremity of the alteration.

Another reference is quite casual:

Theodosia. But the Women [i.e., actresses] have Beauty and Wit enough to hearken to a Keeper.⁽¹³⁾

Where were the actresses (and actors) trained? In Elizabethan times, the regular theatres probably drew their recruits from the children's theatres connected with the choir schools in London. After the Restoration, Nursery theatres for the training of actors were instituted. This is not the place to tell the complicated story of George Jolly's brush with Davenant and Killigrew over the Nurseries;⁽¹⁴⁾ but without going into the question we may/ note that Pepys, on August 2, 1664, mentions Killigrew's having received permission to erect a Nursery in Moorfields. Pepys also saw two plays at the Nursery,⁽¹⁵⁾ and describes

(12) Shadwell, III, 132

(13) Shadwell, III, 330. (A True Widow)

(14) See Hotson, op.cit., Chapter IV.

(15) On February 24 and 25, 1667-8.

them as the worst acted plays he had ever seen. Shadwell suggests not only that the action was poor, but that the plays themselves were amateurish to the last degree:

.....comes the Bell-man
And in a dismal Tone repeats Worse Rhymes
Than a Cast Poet of the Nursery can make; (16)

There is another link between Shadwell and the Nursery, for it is the scene of his enthronement in MacFlecknoe. Dryden describes it as follows:

Near these a Nursery erects its head,
Where queens are form'd, and future heroes bred;
Where unfledg'd actors learn to laugh and cry,
Where infant punks their tender voices try,
And little Maximins the Gods defy. (17)

The Nursery, Dryden contemptuously implies, is the place for plays like Shadwell's.

The theatrical repertory of 1660 consisted mainly, as one might have expected, of revivals. Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher, seem to have been the favourites, but plays by Brome, Heywood, Middleton, Shirley, and Shakespeare, were also used. (18) Shakespeare's tragedies, it should be said in passing, were freely adapted. But the theatres were not long confined to

(16) Shadwell, I, 20. (The Sullen Lovers)

(17) MacFlecknoe, lines 74-78.

(18) See Nicoll, Restoration Drama, pages 82-83 and 168-69.

revivals of old plays. Davenant, Cowley, Flecknoe, and Killigrew, were the first Restoration dramatists of any importance; they had all been writing before 1660. Soon a flood of new plays, by men like Dryden, Etherege, and Howard, began to pour in.

Shadwell overflows with praise of Jonson; as far as I am aware, he has ~~about four~~⁽¹⁹⁾ references to Shakespeare in his comedies. Jonson was his idol. Prologues, Epilogues, Prefaces, and Dedications, and not least, the plays themselves, abound in references and allusions. (See Appendix to this chapter.)

A type of play peculiar to the period, and one of Shadwell's particular aversions, was the rhymed heroic tragedy. It flourished approximately from the Restoration to 1680. As Allardyce Nicoll points out,⁽²⁰⁾ there were in the period rhymed plays not heroic, and there were later heroic plays without rhyme; but the rhymed heroic tragedy belongs to the Restoration period alone.

Briefly, its characteristics are these: The scene is remote, preferably both in place and in time; the characters are endowed with superhuman virtue or

(19) ^{e.g.} "I'le pluck bright Honour from the pale-fac'd Moon
(as my Friend Hot-Spur sayes) what do you think of that?"
Shadwell, I, 79. (The Sullen Lovers); and p.53 in the same play.

(20) Op.cit., pp.90-92.

villainy; great stirring events and the supernatural play a large part in the action. Dryden is the most considerable of the heroic writers, and his admission of his weariness of this kind, in Aureng-Zebe (1675), marks the beginning of its decline.

Shadwell never tired of expressing his scorn for "Love and Honour plays" (as they were called after Davenant's Love and Honour). In the prologue to his very first play, The Sullen Lovers, after explaining that his purpose is to expose fools, he sturdily continues, that he has:

No kinde Romantick Lovers in his Play,
 To sigh and whine out passion, such as may
 Charm Waitingwomen with Heroick Chime,
 And still resolve to live and die in Rhime;
 Such as your Eares with Love, and Honour feast,
 And play at Crambo for three houres at least:
 That Fight, and wooe, in Verse in the same breath,
 And make Similitudes, and Love in Death: (21)

In his preface to the same play, in the course of an eulogy on Jonson, he complains that "most other Authors that I ever read, ... have wilde Romantick Tales wherein they strein Love and Honour to that Ridiculous height, that it becomes Burlesque". (22) Nor did he give over his attacks at the very end of his career. His posthumous

(21) Shadwell, I, 13.

(22) Ibid., p.11.

comedy, The Volunteers, affords some examples. His own prologue, which was not spoken when the play was performed, glances at "Towering Bombast", and the epilogue, "spoken by one in deep mourning", claims that he

"never sunk in Prose nor soar'd in Verse,⁽²³⁾
So high as Bombast, or so low as Farce."

Again and again he ridicules the ranting of the "heroic poets". Bruce in The Virtuoso, is trying various ways of winning his lady;

Bruce. Come, I see this way will not do:
I'll try another with you. Ah, Madam! change
your cruel intentions, or I shall become the
most desolate Lover, that ever yet, with arms
across, sigh'd to a murmuring Grove, or to a
purling Stream complain'd. Savage! I'll
wander up and down the Woods, and carve my
passion on the Barks of Trees, and vent my
grief to winds, that as they fly shall sigh and
 pity me.

Clarinda. How now! what foolish Fustian's
this? you talk like an Heroick Poet.⁽²⁴⁾

and a few lines later, Clarinda throws off this description:

... a dull Rhiming Play, with nothing in't but
lewd Heroe's huffing against the Gods.⁽²⁴⁾

The epilogue to the same play contains these lines:

But of those Ladies he despairs to day,
Who love a dull Romantick whining Play;
Where poor frail Woman's made a Deity,
With sensless amorous Idolatry;
And sniveling Heroe's sigh, and pine, and cry. }

(23) ibid., V, 161.

(24) ibid., III, 134.

Though singly they beat Armies, and huff Kings,
 Rant at the Gods, and do impossible things;
 Though they can laugh at danger, blood, and
 wounds;
 Yet if the Dame once chides, the milk-sop Hero
 swoons.
 These doughty things, nor Manners have nor Wit;
 We ne'r saw Hero fit to drink with yet. ⁽²⁵⁾

"Serious Love is duller than a Rhyming Play",
 says Gertrude; and when she finds, a minute later, that
 she has two lovers who are yet good friends, she exclaims
 sarcastically: "So; here's a fine Subject for a Love and
 Honour Poet!" ⁽²⁶⁾

Most amusing of all, however, is the scene in
The Sullen Lovers, in which Sir Positive At-All challenges
 two clerks for presuming to criticise his heroic tragedy,
The Lady in the Lobster. First he complains to Stanford:

Sir, no man in England would put up this affront;
 Why look you, Sir, for him to sit in the Eighteen
 pence Gallery, pray mark me, and rail at my Play
 alowd the first day, and did all that lay in his
 power to damn it: And let me tell you, Sir, if
 in any Drammatick Poem there has been such
 breaks, such Characters, such Figures, such
 Images, such Heroick Patterns, such Heights, such
 Flights, such Intrigues, such Surprises, such
 Fire, Salt, and Flame, then I am no Judge: I
 understand nothing in this world.

The first Clerk tries to defend himself:

Sir, I'le tell you, you had made a Lady in your
 Play so unkind to her Lover (who methought was
 a very honest well meaning Gentleman) to command
 him to hang himself. Said I then that shall not
 pass, thinking indeed the Gentleman would not
 have done it, but indeed did it, then said I,

⁽²⁵⁾ ibid., p. 181

⁽²⁶⁾ Both from Bury-Fair, Shadwell, IV, 353.

Sir Positive. Hold! Hold! I'll have
Shakespeares in, 'slife I had like to
have forgot that.

>

fy upon't that he should be so much over-taken.

After more argument, Sir Positive turns to Stanford, his second, and exclaims in despair;

But Stanford, it would make an Authour mad to see the Invincible Ignorance of this age, now for him to hang himself at the Command of his Mistress there's the surprize, and I'le be content to hang my self, if ever that was shewn upon a stage before, besides 'twas an Heroick Cato-like Action, and there's great Love and Honour to be shewn in a mans hanging himself for his Mistress, take that from me.

For the sake of peace, the two clerks finally say yea and amen to all Sir Positive's claims; and in satisfaction for the supposed insult, he makes them sign the following document:

I.Clerk reads. I do acknowledge and firmly believe that the Play of Sir Positive At-All Knight, called the Lady in the Lobster, notwithstanding it was damn'd by the Malice of the Age, shall not onely read, but it shall act with any of Ben Johnsons, and Beaumont's and Fletcher's Plays.

> I.Clerk. With all my heart. (reads) I do likewise hereby attest that he is no purloiner of other mens Work, the general fame and opinion notwithstanding, and that he is a Poet, Mathematician, Divine, Statesman, Lawyer, Phisitian, Geographer, Musician, and indeed a Unus in Omnibus through all Arts and Sciences, and hereunto I have set my hand the day of .(27)

(27) This scene is found in Shadwell, I, 51-53.

What gave spice to the whole play was that, as everyone knew, Sir Positive At-All was a caricature of Sir Robert Howard, "that universal pretender", as Evelyn calls him.⁽²⁸⁾ His tragedies are The Indian-Queen, The Vestal-Virgin, and The Great Favourite, Or, The Duke of Lerma.

Shadwell has nothing to say in his plays about that other creation of the Restoration period, the comedy of manners; his own inclination led him towards the Jonsonian comedy of humours, and he defends his choice again and again. The most notable instances are in the prefaces to The Sullen Lovers and The Humorists.

He tried his hand, however, at a (more or less) original tragedy, The Libertine, a pastoral, The Royal Shepherdesse, (which reflects the artificial pastoral fad of the time), an adaptation of Shakespeare's Timon of Athens, and two operas, Psyche, and The Tempest, which latter is an operatic version of Dryden and Davenant's alteration of Shakespeare's play.

Operas, as I mentioned earlier, were first produced in England by Davenant in 1656, and remained popular throughout the century. One of the essential parts

(28) June 16, 1683.

of opera seems to have been the elaborate "machines". They were of many kinds. Shadwell alludes especially to those that made flight possible. So, when Lady Cheatly, in the playhouse, wants to get rid of her brother Lump: (stage direction) "Lady Cheatly whistles, two mock-Devils descend and fly up with Lump."⁽²⁹⁾ A few moments later, (stage direction) "Prig and Young Maggot are carried up in their Chairs, and hang in the air."⁽²⁹⁾ Even hanging in the air, they make a nuisance of themselves, so the "Carpenter lets 'em down, and presently they sink down [i.e. through traps in the stage] and roar out".⁽³⁰⁾

"The Devils in an Opera are not so busie", says Carlos, describing how the "men in vogue" behave when they go to a play.⁽³¹⁾ In Shadwell's own opera, The Tempest, the devils are kept very busy indeed, and are given a scene almost to themselves. (Act II, scene iii). Shadwell sums up the development of elaborate spectacles in his Second Epilogue to The Tempest:

When you of Witt, and sence, were weary growne,
Romantick, riming, fustian Playes were showne,
We then to flying Witches did advance,
And for your pleasures traffic'd into ffrance,
From thence new Arts to please you, we have

(29) Shadwell, III, 342 (A True Widow)

(30) ibid., stage direction, p.343.

(31) ibid., p.330.

sought

We have machines to some perfection brought,
And above 30 Warbling voyces gott.
Many a God & Goddess you will heare
And we have Singing, Dancing, Devills here
Such Devills, and such gods, are very Deare. } (32)

All this time we have been backstage. We must now turn to the audience; and here Shadwell furnishes a mine of information, chiefly in A True Widow. Act IV represents the interior of a playhouse, and opens with the audience drifting in. This performance is semi-private; Carlos has bespoken it for his friends; but he allows other women (not of his party) to come in free, while making the men pay -- or trying to. The talk before the play begins is one of the best bits of dialogue Shadwell ever wrote, and by all accounts it is true to facts.

Several more come in, Women mask'd, and Men of several sorts. Several young Coxcombs fool with the Orange-Women.

Orange-Wo. Oranges; will you have any Oranges?

1.Bully. What play do they play? some confounded Play or other.

Prig. A Pox on't Madam! what should we do at this damn'd Play-house? Let's send for some Cards, and play at Lang-trilloo in the Box: Pox on 'em! I ne'r saw a Play had any thing in't; some of 'em have Wit now and then, but what care I for Wit.

Selfish. Does my Cravat sit well? I take all the care I can it should; I love to appear well. What Ladies are herein the Boxes? really I never come to a Play, but on account of seeing the Ladies.

•
1.Bully. Dam'me. When will these Fellows begin?
Plague on't! here's a staying.

2.Man. Whose Play is this?
3.Man. One Prickett's, poet Prickett.
1.Man. Oh hang him! Pox on him! he cannot write;
 prithee let's to White-hall. (33)

Systems of admission were rather haphazard. Men seem to have been in the habit of "running upon the score", as Pepys calls it; and it was customary to allow anyone in without payment if he did not stay till the end of the act then playing. (34) All this appears in the following extract:

Enter several Ladies, and several Men.

Door-keeper. Pray, Sir, pay me, my Masters will make me pay it.

3.Man. Impudent Rascal! Do you ask me for Money? Take that, Sirrah.

2.Door-keep. Will you pay me, Sir?

4.Man. No: I don't intend to stay.

2.Door-keep. So you say every day and see two or three Acts for nothing.

4.Man. I'll break your Head, you Rascal.

1.Door-keep. Pray, Sir, pay me.

3.Man. Set it down, I have no Silver about me, or bid my Man pay you.

Theodosia. What, do Gentlemen run on tick for Plays?

Carlos. As familiarly as with their Taylors. (35)

Shadwell also gives us some information about the price of admission. A brief description of the seating arrangements is first in order. The pit occupied the lowest portion, sloping rather steeply upwards from front

(33) Shadwell, III, 333-334.

(34) See the very full note by Summers, Shadwell, III, 411.

(35) Shadwell, III, 334.

to back. The seats here were backless wooden benches. The first level at the back of the house was taken up by boxes, which extended around the walls to the stage on either side, with the Royal box in the centre. Above the boxes was the middle gallery, and above that, the upper gallery.

The pit is alluded to in Sir Charles Sedley's prologue to Shadwell's Epsom-Wells:

'Tis not fair play, that one for his Half Crown
Should judge, and rail, and damn for half the
Town. (36)

The pit was the half-crown section. Admission to the boxes was four shillings: "You might have your four shillings out in Thunder and Lightning", says Lady Vaine to Emilia. (37) The two clerks who had offended Sir Positive At-All, sat, as we have seen, in the eighteen-penny gallery, that is, the middle gallery; and the price of a seat in the top gallery was a shilling. Pepys again is at hand to corroborate most of these facts: "when I begun first to be able to bestow a play on myself, I do not remember that I saw so many by half of the ordinary 'prentices and mean people in the pit at 2s.6d. a-piece as now; I going for several years no higher than the 12d. and then the 18d.

(37) Shadwell, I, 37 (The Sullen Lovers)

places, though I strained hard to go in then when I
 did ..." (38)

Of the crowded noisy scene in the pit we have already had a glimpse. There were the extortionate orange-women, who, when they were not noisily crying their wares up and down the theatre, used to sit down and let themselves be fondled by the young gallants. To add to the confusion, there were "a sort of hopeful youths

...such as come Drunk and Screaming into a Play-house, and stand upon the Benches, and toss their full Periwigs and empty Heads, and with their shrill unbroken Pipes, cry, Dam-me, this is a Damn'd Play; Prethee let's to a Whore, Jack.." (39)

"The men in Vogue", says Carlos, "forbear none of all these things; they dive like Ducks at one end of the Pit, and rise at the other, then whisk into the Whore-Boxes, then into the Scenes, and always hurry up and down, the Devils in an Opera are not so busie." (40)

Then there were the sparks like Prig, who "Raps people on the Backs, and twirls their Hats, and then looks demurely, as if he did not do it." (41) This was known as "dumb-found-ing".

The wits and critics used to cluster in a special place, which came to be called "Fop-corner". Shadwell

(38) Diary, Jan.1, 1667-8.

(39) Shadwell, III, 106 (The Virtuoso)

(40) ibid., p.330 (A True Widow)

(41) ibid., p.337 (stage direction)

does not refer to it by name, but in this same play-scene, we find the following:

(Selfish and Young Maggot go to sit down)

Y.Mag. Don't come to us; let you Wits sit together.

Prig. These Fellows will be witty, and trouble us; go to your Brother Wits, and make a noise among yourselves, Brother Wits.

(They go on the other side.) (42)

So the "Curtain-time", or overture, was played, and the play began. Glare from the unshaded candles, noise and stench from the unclean and inattentive audience, intruders in the green-room and on the scenes, all seem to have been ignored, or at least borne with, by the actors and by the serious part of the spectators.

Shadwell is the only Restoration dramatist who has made full use of his knowledge of the theatre; it was mere luck, though, that he hit on this point of interest to future centuries. He was trying to amuse the London of the '70's and '80's.

(42) ibid., p.334.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V
SHADWELL AND BEN JONSON

Ben Jonson was by all odds the favourite Elizabethan dramatist of Restoration London. His great plays, Volpone, The Silent Woman, The Alchemist, and Bartholomew Fair, were given repeatedly, as we learn from such sources as the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn; and even his second-best plays -- the "Humour" ones, The Devil is an Ass, and so forth -- were occasionally revived. Pepys goes so far as to call Bartholomew Fair, "as it is acted, the best comedy in the world".⁽¹⁾

But although Jonson was generally admired, few Restoration dramatists set out to imitate him. Probably, as Dryden implies,⁽²⁾ they preferred wit to humour; humour, that is, in the Jonsonian sense. By an extension of meaning, the word had come to signify, instead of one of the four "fluids" of the human constitution,

(1) Diary, August 2, 1664.

(2) "One cannot say he [Jonson] wanted wit, but rather that he was frugal of it...Humour was his proper sphere." (An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, p.81-82, W.P. Ker's edition.) "Wit" includes fancy and imagination.

"the Byas of the Mind,
By which with violence 'tis one way inclin'd:
It makes our actions lean on one side still,
And in all Changes that way bends the Will."

That is how Shadwell defines it in his Epilogue to The Humorists⁽³⁾ (a play written ^{on} _A Jonson's principles). In other words, a humour is a ruling eccentricity or bias of character. The dramatist makes no secret of it, and the interest of a "humour" play lies in the skill with which he has presented the various humours. Here are some examples from the Dramatis Personae of The Sullen Lovers and The Virtuoso:

Stanford ---- A Morose Melancholy Man, tormented beyond Measure with the Impertinence of People, and resolved to leave the World to be quit of them.

Lovel-----An Ayery young Gentleman, friend to Stanford, one that is pleased with, and laughs at the Impertinents, and that which is the others torment, is his recreation.

Snarl ----- An Old pettish Fellow, a great Admirer of the last Age, and a Disclaimer against the Vices of this, and privately very vicious himself.

Shadwell, then, followed Jonson, and, in fact, issued a manifesto at the very beginning of his career: "I have endeavour'd to represent [in The Sullen Lovers] variety of Humours (most of the persons of the Play:

(3) Shadwell, I, 254.

differing in their Characters from one another) which was the practice of Ben Johnson, whom I think all Dramatick Poets ought to imitate, though none are like to come near; he being the onely person that appears to me to have made perfect Representations of Humane Life ... he is the man, of all the World, I most passionately admire for his Excellency in Drammatick-Poetry." ⁽⁴⁾ He goes on to warn his readers not to expect an elaborate plot (or "Intrigue"); for the dénouement would force him to "let fall the humour", and, he conceives, "in the Writing of a Humor, a Man is confin'd not to swerve from the Character, and oblig'd to say nothing but what is proper to it". The result is, naturally, a certain sameness, "the same thing over and over", which Shadwell justifies by asserting that he has (in this play) carried on the humours to the last, as Horace directs him to do.

While this system has some advantages, and may be very effective, as it is with Jonson, it is a drawback to be obliged to present absolutely consistent characters. ("Perfect" characters, Shadwell called them.) Shadwell

(4) Shadwell, I, 11. (Preface to The Sullen Lovers). For further examples of unrestrained praise of Jonson, see Epilogue to The Humorists, Preface to The Royal Shepherdesse, Epistle Dedicatory to The Virtuoso.

modified his system in later plays, and a few, notably The Woman-Captain and The Amorous Bigotte,⁽⁵⁾ are distinctly comedies of intrigue.

What we are here concerned with is Shadwell's observation of London, and not primarily his plays as such, or even their classification into types. Obviously his adherence to Jonson's principles would not affect his references to contemporary life and manners, for all that this adherence demands is the picking out of strongly marked characters and the weaving of them into a play.

The best of the "humour" comedies is probably A True Widow. It is particularly Jonsonian, not only because of the number of "humours", but because, as Mr. Borgman points out⁽⁶⁾ it is, in general outline, very similar to The Alchemist. The deceiver, Lady Cheatly, dupes a host of Londoners, and when she is finally brought to bay she manages to push the blame on her accomplice, the Steward, and escape scot free herself; just as Face, in The Alchemist, forces Subtle and Dol Common to decamp, and himself gets both praise and profit.

(5) Which I do not mention elsewhere because it does not deal with London or even with England. The scene is laid in Madrid.

(6) Thomas Shadwell, his life and comedies, p.175.

Further, we find in Shadwell a number of verbal echoes of Jonson. They occur particularly in the earlier plays, although there is one as late as The Scowrers (1690). The most considerable is near the beginning of The Woman-Captain, where Sir Humphrey Scattergood and his friends are giving orders about the luxurious dishes they want prepared. This is quite obviously modelled on Sir Epicure Mammon's description (in The Alchemist) of the delights he expects to enjoy through the power of the philosopher's stone. Shadwell's prose in places can be written as blank verse, very nearly as regular as Jonson's own. I write it thus as a matter of curiosity:

There shall you find what is in season still--
the youngest Meat always most nourishing.---
The new fain Lamb. The tender Kid, and young fat Pigs.
[redundant]

Veals fed with Milk, Whitebread, and new-laid Eggs,
with young fat Beefs, and smallest Forrest Mutton,
fat Bucks for Summer, Barren Does for Winter.

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
The mounting Lark, the Messenger of Day,
the long bill'd Cock, that Winter brings in Mists --
with Snipe, Duck, Teal, the Curlew and the Wild-goose,
the Brant-goose, Solon-goose and Puffin.

Among the fish, they name "the Luscio, Eel, the Trout, Char,
Tench, Perch, calverd Salmon....Carps"; and "dissolved
Pearl and Amber in my sawce."⁽⁷⁾ A little later in the play,

(7) The foregoing quotations are from Shadwell, IV, 22.
The next is from the same, p.27.

when Gripe's servant Richard offers to go and shoot wild-fowl, Gripe exclaims: "Wild-fowl! They are fit for Lucullus or Apicius." Sir Epicure Mammon, in Jonson's play, lays more stress on the manner of serving the food, but it is hard to believe that Shadwell did not have the following passage in mind:

My meat shall all come in, in Indian shells,
 Dishes of agat set in gold, and studded
 With emeralds, sapphires, hyacinths, and rubies.
 The tongues of carps, dormice, and camels' heels,
 Boiled in the spirit of sol, and dissolved pearl
Apicius' diet, 'gainst the epilepsy:
 And I will eat these broths with spoons of amber,
 Headed with diamond and carbuncle.
 My foot-boy shall eat pheasants, calvered salmons,
 Knots, godwits, lampreys:(8)

Sir Humphrey's voluptuous description of the scented baths he means to revel in recalls a similar though much finer description by Sir Epicure Mammon. (9)

Mr. Oldwit, in Bury-Fair, is "a paltry Old-fashion'd Wit, and Punner of the last Age; that pretends to have been one of Ben Johnson's Sons, and to have seen Plays at the Blackfryers."⁽¹⁰⁾ So Mr. Wildish describes him, and he himself says:

(8) The Alchemist, Act II, scene i. (vol.3, p.312-313 in Mermaid Edition). The words underlined are those which Shadwell echoes.

(9) Shadwell, IV, 25 and The Alchemist, II, i, (p.312)

(10) Shadwell, IV, 300.

I my self, simple as I stand here, was a Wit in the last Age: I was created Ben Johnson's Son, in the Apollo. I knew Fletcher, my friend Fletcher, and his maid Joan...⁽¹¹⁾

A few more echoes may be listed. Shadwell fitted out his The Lancashire Witches with an elaborate set of notes on witchcraft, "believe it who will. For my part, I am (as it is said of Surly [really by Surly, of himself] in the Alchymist) somewhat costive of belief."⁽¹²⁾ When Sir Samuel Hearty, disguised as a woman, and arrested as a bawd, finds a rope by means of which he can escape out of the window, he exclaims: "I am deliver'd as Rabby Busie was, by Miracle".⁽¹³⁾ He is referring to Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, in Bartholomew Fair, who escaped from the stocks by the negligence of the watchmen in leaving them open.

We must conclude that the allusions would be understood by Shadwell's audience, which is another bit of evidence, if more were required, of the popularity of Jonson's plays. And all the references and imitations are further evidence of Shadwell's knowledge of and admiration for Jonson.

(11) ibid., 305.

(12) ibid., p.101. (The Lancashire Witches - To the Reader)

(13) ibid., III, 161. (The Virtuoso)

CHAPTER VI
SHADWELL AND SCIENCE

"A rare Mechanick Philosopher"
(The Virtuoso)

The seventeenth century was the great age of science, for in it the foundations of modern experimental science were laid; and England was the scene of many of the most important discoveries. A spurt of activity and progress never again paralleled distinguished the second half of the century. Strange to say, it was during the unsettled days of the Rebellion, Civil War, and Interregnum, that men began to meet for the discussion of "natural philosophy"; Sprat tells us: "Their first purpose was no more, then onely the satisfaction of breathing a freer air, and of conversing in quiet with one another, without being ingag'd in the passions, and madness of that ⁽¹⁾ dismal Age." It was this group of men that formed the nucleus of the Royal Society of London, organized in 1660, and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1662.

Although the Society met regularly to see and discuss experiments, and even appointed a Curator, who

(1) History of the Royal Society, p.53.

was to provide experiments for each meeting, most of them were carried out by the Fellows in their own homes, and then, if interesting and successful, repeated before the assembly. It did not take long for some of the wealthier members to build up well-equipped "elaboratories", fitted out with furnaces, air-pumps, and so forth -- it was an age of amateurs. It is this fact that Shadwell seizes on when he introduces Sir Nicholas Gimcrack as "in his Laboratory, a spacious Room, where all his instruments and fine Knacks are"; ⁽²⁾ this fact that gives point to the whole play The Virtuoso.

But is Shadwell, in Sir Nicholas, aiming his satire at the Royal Society? He leaves us in no doubt about that. Lady Gimcrack, it is true, declares of her husband: "The Colledge ⁽³⁾ indeed refus'd him, they envy'd him", ⁽⁴⁾ and at the end of the play she threatens to send all his "Letters from [his] several Whores" to Gresham College, -- "then you'll be more despis'd than now you are there." ⁽⁵⁾ On the other hand, the remark of one of

(2) Shadwell, III, 125

(3) i.e. the Royal Society. Gresham College was their regular place of meeting.

(4) Shadwell, III, 125

(5) ibid., p.177-78

the rioting weavers, "Are these the Tricks of a Vertuoso?"
 Have they studi'd these fourteen years for this?⁽⁶⁾
 while spoken of Sir Nicholas, undoubtedly refers to the Royal Society. The play was produced in May 1676: the Society had been given its charter fourteen years before, in 1662. Furthermore, all the experiments Sir Nicholas claims to have performed are taken (with slight changes, to make them ridiculous) from works of the members of the Society, chiefly the Philosophical Transactions and Hooke's Micrographia.⁽⁷⁾

Thus we read in the Philosophical Transactions Robert Boyle's account of his experiments with the air-pump. Among other things, he studied "the Relation between Light and Air (in Shining Wood and Fish)".⁽⁸⁾ He mentions whiting as the most suitable kind of fish (presumably because it became phosphorescent most readily).⁽⁹⁾ He describes how he was able to read a Hebrew Bible by the light of a piece of luminous wood.⁽¹⁰⁾ And finally, Dr. Beal, of Yeovil in Somerset, writes (May 22, 1676) to the publisher of the Transactions: "... you have been

(6) ibid., p.167

(7) This has been shown by Claude Lloyd, PMLA 44 (1929), 472-494: Shadwell and the Virtuosi.

(8) II, 581 ff.

(9) ibid., p.597.

(10) ibid., 611.

tired with the noise of a piece of Fresh Beef, which
 shined in the Strand in London".
 (11)

Now for Shadwell's use of all these facts:

Sir Nicholas ... I eclipse the light of Rotten Wood, stinking Whiting and Thornback, and putrid Flesh when it becomes lucid.

Longvil. Will stinking Flesh give light like Rotten Wood?

Sir Nicholas. O yes; there was a lucid Sirloin of Beef in the Strand, foolish people thought it burnt, when it only became lucid and crystalline by the coagulation of the aqueous juice of the Beef, by the corruption that invaded it. 'Tis frequent. I myself have read a Geneva Bible by a Leg of Pork.

Bruce. How, a Geneva Bible by a Leg of Pork?

Sir Nicholas. O Ay, 'tis the finest Light in the World: but for all that, I could eclipse the Leg of Pork in my Receiver, by pumping out the Air; but immediately upon the appulse⁽¹²⁾ of the Air let in again, it becomes lucid as before.⁽¹³⁾

It will be noticed that, beyond assembling the material, Shadwell has made very few and very slight changes. He makes the Hebrew Bible a Geneva Bible (a Puritan version) -- a sure way of raising a laugh among

(11) ibid., XI, 599. This is too near the date of the play for Shadwell to have used the Transactions account. The play was licensed for printing May 31, 1676, and we know that Charles II saw it on May 25. But as Beal was writing from Somerset, and had had the news in the first place from London, weeks or even months might have elapsed since the occurrence -- ample time for Shadwell to use it if it was a matter of common report in London, as the letter suggests.

(12) Boyle uses the word appulse in Philosophical Transactions, II, 599.

(13) Shadwell, III, 164.

a Restoration audience -- and Sir Nicholas's learned explanation is a neat finishing touch. Even for that Shadwell may have used some hitherto undiscovered source.

One of the most important studies pursued by these early scientists was of the air, its properties, and its uses. Galileo's experiments had taught them that the air has weight, and Torricelli's barometer had given them the means of weighing it. The next logical step was the comparison of the weights of the air at different places. (The words "weight" and "pressure" are used indiscriminately by writers in the Transactions,⁽¹⁴⁾ with the former, as expressing the simpler notion, the more common.) So frequent were such experiments for a while that Pepys writes of King Charles: "Gresham College he mightily laughed at, for spending time only in weighing of ayre, and doing nothing else since they sat."⁽¹⁵⁾ Sir Nicholas merely goes a step further: he not only weighs the air, but has a supply of various airs on hand to use at will.

Sir Nicholas. ... Chuse your Air, you shall have it in my Chamber; Newmarket, Banstead-down, Wiltshire, Bury-air, Norwich-air; what you will.

Longvil. ... It is possible to take all these

(14) See for example I, 154-55; I, 163-64

(15) Diary, Feb. 1, 1663-64

Courtney Airs in your Chamber?

Sir Nicholas. I knew you were to seek. I employ Men all over England, Factors for Air, who bottle up Air, and weigh it in all places, sealing the Bottles Hermetically: they send me Loads from all places. That Vault is full of Courtney Air.

Bruce. To weigh Air and send it to you!

Sir Nicholas. O yes; I have sent one to weigh Air at the Picque of Teneriff, that's the lightest Air; I shall have a considerable Cargo of that Air. Sheerness and Isle of Dogs Air is the heaviest. Now, if I have a mind to take Courtney Air, I send for, may be, forty Gallons of Bury Air, shut all my Windows and doors close, and let it fly in my Chamber. (16)

And so a little later they "snuff up" some of the Bury air:

Bruce. O admirable -- who would go to Bury to take it?

Sir Nicholas. Not I, 'tis much the better here; it takes so much the better for being bottled, as other Liquors do. For let me tell you, Gentlemen, Air is but a thinner sort of Liquor, and drimks much the better for being bottled.

Longvil. Most certainly the world is very foolish, not to snuff up bottled Air, as they drink bottled Drink. (17)

This is a direct hit at the new theory of the air's fluidity, a strange enough notion to most people when for centuries the air had been merely ignored. (18)

(16) Shadwell, III, 160.

(17) Ibid., p.164.

(18) Not even all the Virtuosi accepted it. An anonymous author, whose book Observations touching the Torricellian Experiment is reviewed in the Philosophical Transactions, IX, 80ff., asserted that the air is a continuous substance.

One last example, this one dealing with the uses of air, and respiration. When his visitors, Bruce and Longvil, first see him, Sir Nicholas is learning to swim on dry land -- in his laboratory, in fact. In the intervals of swimming, he "refrigerates his lungs by way of respiration"⁽¹⁹⁾, and after his swim he gives his visitors an account of the "curiosities" he has found out in "Physick":

Sir Nicholas. Why, I have found out the use of Respiration, or Breathing, which is a motion of the Thorax and the Lungs, whereby the Air is impell'd by the Nose, Mouth and Wind-pipe, into the Lungs, and thence expell'd farther to elaborate the Blood, by refrigerating it, and separating its fuliginous steams.

I have found too, that an Animal may be preserv'd without respiration, when the Wind-pipe's cut in two, by follicular impulsion of Air; to wit, by blowing wind with a pair of bellows into the Lungs.⁽²⁰⁾

The source of these remarkable discoveries was not, however, Sir Nicholas's own experiments, but two items in Number 28 of the Philosophical Transactions.⁽²¹⁾

The first is a review of a book by a Dutch physician, Swammerdam, which reads in part:

"He makes Respiration to be a Motion of the

(19) Shadwell, III, 126. Cf. Philosophical Transactions II, 535: "He scruples not to reprehend the immortal Doctor Harvey, for having excluded from the office of the Lungs the Use of Refrigeration".

(20) Shadwell, III, 127

(21) II, 535 and 539

Thorax and Lungs, whereby the Air is sometimes impelled by the Nose, Mouth and Wind-pipe into the Lungs; and thence again expelled; farther to elaborate the Blood, by Refrigerating it, and by Separating its fuliginous steams . . ."

The second is "An Account of an Experiment made by M. Hook, of Preserving Animals alive by Blowing through their Lungs with Bellows." Shadwell follows this almost as closely as the other.

(22)

These examples are given at some length because the Virtuosi and their work were a part of Shadwell's London. Shadwell's own opinion, and the general opinion, of the new scientific discoveries, are hard to find out from the play.

One thing, however, is clear. Sir Nicholas several times makes a point of explaining that none of his knowledge tends to use. "I hate the Water, I never come upon the Water, Sir", he tells Bruce. "I content myself with the speculative part of Swiming, I care not for the Practick. I seldom bring any thing to use, 'tis not my way, Knowledge is my ultimate end."

"You have reason, Sir;" replies Bruce satirically.
"Knowledge is like Vertue, its own reward."

(23)

(22) Shadwell, in thus using the Royal Society's own works, is much more definite than, say, Swift, (in Gulliver, book III). Swift merely ridicules science in general; and most of his examples are wholly imaginary.

(23) Shadwell, III, 127.

Again, he boasts of having "travell'd all over Italy", with "no other affair in the world, but to study the secrets of that harmonious Insect." (He means the tarantula).

Bruce. Did you not observe the Wisdom, Policies, and Customs of that ingenious people?
Sir Nicholas. Oh, by no means! 'Tis below a Virtuoso, to trouble himself with Men and Manners. I study Insects ..."(24)

In a satirical aside Bruce later remarks: "This foolish Virtuoso does not consider, that one Brick-layer
(25)
is worth forty Philosophers."

Longvil, too, has his say. When Bruce asks him, in an interval of Sir Nicholas's dissertaion on ants, "What does it concern a Man to know the nature of an Ant?", he replies: "O it concerns a Virtuoso mightily: so it be
(26)
Knowledge, 'tis no matter of what."

In defending himself against the charges of the rioting ribbon-weavers, who claimed that he had invented an engine-loom, Sir Nicholas says: "I protest and vow they wrong me, I never invented any thing of use in my
(27)
life, as gad shall mend me, not I", and again: "We

(24) ibid., p.142

(25) ibid., p.159. Compare Sir William Belfond in the Squire of Alsatia, who has no use for "any Mathematician but a Carpenter, Bricklayer, or a Measurer of Land, or Sailor". (Shadwell, IV, 232)

(26) ibid., III, 140

(27) Ibid., p.166.

Virtuoso's never find out any thing of use, 'tis not our
 way." (28)

All these defences of natural philosophy against the suspicion of usefulness, and all these slighting remarks about its uselessness, appear to have been written with a glance at Sprat and others of the Royal Society. Sprat's "History", written nine years before The Virtuoso, is much less a history than a vindication of the Society, and of science in general, against the charge that it is not useful. He takes 100 pages to point out the actual and possible uses of the experiments and investigations of the members, and to assure his readers that religion, morality, learning, loyalty and trade, will not be endangered. Robert Boyle, too, had written a book, Of the Usefulness of Experimental Natural Philosophy (1671). (29)

In view of Sprat's somewhat laboured and elaborate defence, Shadwell's misrepresentation is justifiable, if satire ever is justifiable. It is not fair, but fairness can hardly be expected in satire. It is curious that in a later play, The Squire of Alsatia (1688), Sir Edward Belfond, held up throughout as a model father, includes in his son's course of studies "Natural

(28) ibid., p.169

(29) The "second Tome" is reviewed in Philosophical Transactions VI, 2179.

(30)

"Philosophy" and "the Mathematicks". It is idle to speculate on such slight evidence whether Shadwell had changed his opinion since 1676. The words of his characters do not bind the playwright.

Now as to the general opinion of experimental science. Men of sense and understanding were becoming seriously interested in it. John Evelyn, the diarist, one of the sanest men of the time, was a Fellow, worked very hard for the Royal Society, was elected Secretary in 1672, and was offered the Presidency in 1682 and 1693. Pepys was President in 1684. Christopher Wren, Flamsteed, Halley, Newton, are a few more of the illustrious Fellows. Still, a vast inertia of ignorance and prejudice and settled habits of thought had to be overcome. Even among the F.R.S's themselves, there were those who believed in the efficacy of May-dew as a cosmetic; at least, one Mr. Henshaw had gathered vast quantities of it. Many believed in the divining rod, and in touching for the "King's Evil";⁽³¹⁾ and Aubrey is an example of a Fellow who

(30) Shadwell, IV, 232. This is the remark that calls forth the outburst already quoted, page 125, note 25.

(31) Philosophical Transactions, I, 33.

(32) Summarized in Weld, History of the Royal Society, I, 88-92.

believed in astrology.

These were the learned. Superstitions were, naturally, much more numerous among the mob, and ignorance more prevalent. And when the mob saw the "Philosophers" staring at the moon through their telescopes, and heard vague rumours of their poring over microscopes to examine vermin, or were told that, of all things, they spent much time in weighing the air, how could they but conclude that all their doings were extravagant and ridiculous? "What does it concern a Man to know the nature of an Ant?" was probably asked more than once. We can be sure that the audience in Dorset Garden heartily applauded the scorn with which Clarinda and Miranda described their uncle, Sir Nicholas:

Clarinda. A Sot, that has spent £2000 in Microscopes, to find out the nature of Eels in Vinegar, Mites in Cheese, and the Blue of Plums, which he has subtilly found out to be living Creatures.

Miranda. One who has broken his brains about the nature of Maggots; who has studi'd these twenty years to find out the several sorts of Spiders, and never cares for understanding Mankind. (33)

(33) Shadwell, III, 113.

Note on the Identity of Sir Nicholas Gimcrack

In a note on Shadwell's preface to The Humorists,⁽¹⁾ Mr. J.E. Spingarn states that Sir Nicholas Gimcrack is Robert Boyle. Shadwell's words are: "But I challenge the most clamorous and violent of my Enemies...to accuse me, with truth, of representing real Actions, or using the peculiar, affected phrases, or manner of speech, of any one particular Man, or Woman living."⁽²⁾

As I have shown, Shadwell undoubtedly used some of Boyle's reports to the Royal Society; but Boyle was by no means his only source. The microscopical investigations are Hooke's; the experiments on respiration owe their wording to Hooke and Swammerdam; the blood transfusions were done by Lower and Wallis; the information about ants comes from Edmund King; the inventor of the "stentrophonical tube" was Sir Samuel Moreland; and the list might be lengthened considerably.

Mr. Spingarn's statement, therefore, seems to me

(1) J.E. Spingarn, Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, II, 340.

(2) ibid., p.156, or Shadwell, I,185.

a hasty generalization based on a phrase. (3)

On the other hand, he states a matter of common knowledge when he says (in the same place) that "Gossip had already attached a real name to Sir Positive At-All in The Sullen Lovers". As Pepys tells us, (4) everyone knew that Sir Positive At-All was meant for Sir Robert Howard.

The point of Mr. Spingarn's note is that Shadwell was not entirely sincere in his claim of not representing on the stage any living person. The question is, therefore, whether Shadwell, in the passage quoted, was referring merely to The Humorists or was speaking generally. One is forced to conclude that he is speaking generally, as there is nothing to the contrary.

Mr. Spingarn's note, then, seems correct in principle but not quite accurate in detail.

(3) He quotes Sir Formal Trifle's words about Sir Nicholas: "He is the most admirable Person in the Meletetiques, viz., in Reflections and Meditations, in the whole World"; and adds that this is an allusion to the science of "meleteticks" in Boyle's Occasional Reflections, 1665. How about the correspondence between the phraseology of Sir Nicholas the the reviewer of Swammerdam's book, on the subject of respiration? -- "fuliginous steams", etc.

(4) Friday, May 8, 1668.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The picture of Shadwell's London which I have tried to draw from his plays is far from complete. He tells us much -- more, I believe, than any other dramatist of his time, about people, manners, morals, religion, and the town itself. Some omissions have been noticed in the course of the study; a few others may be briefly discussed here.

References to city government are few and far between; but there is really no reason why Shadwell should refer to it. If he had chosen to write a play around it, as he did around science, scowring, stock-jobbing, and the like, it would be a different story. City government went on quietly for the most part, and there was plenty of more interesting things to write about.

I regret more his failure to mention the actual appearance of London. True, we have prints and plans, but a word-picture of the houses and shops in the mouth of one of his characters might have been both valuable and amusing.

But, as I have mentioned before, it must be insisted upon that he was writing not for future students of literature and manners, but for an

actual, present, London audience, and one very hard to please. The simple explanation is that he tried to please them -- and usually succeeded.

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